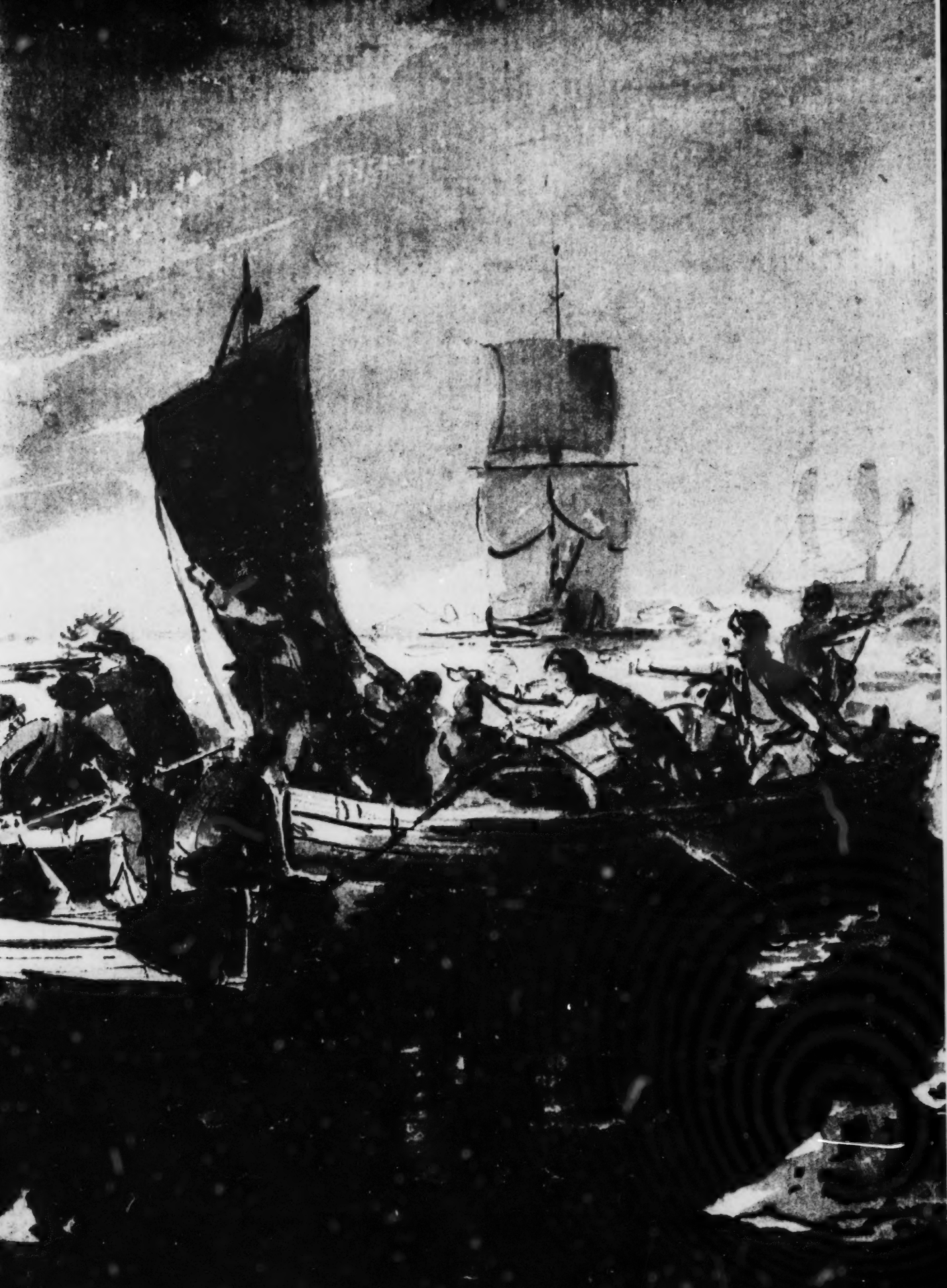

Colonial Identities

Records of Our History

Colonial Identities
Canada from 1760 to 1815

Bruce G. Wilson

National Archives of Canada
Archives nationales du Canada

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Table of Contents

Foreword
ix

Introduction and Acknowledgments
xi

Exploration and Surveying
1

A Contemporary Account of Little-Known Spanish Voyages Along the Pacific Coast, 1774–1792 2
A Native of Nootka Sound (Vancouver Island), 1778 4
Cook's Men Turn Back from Their Search for a Northwest Passage, 1778 6
The Log of a Spanish Ship that Almost Started a War, 1789 8
Vancouver Traces the Coastline of Modern British Columbia and Alaska, 1792–1794 10
The Western Interior Begins to Emerge: Arrowsmith's Map of 1795 12
The Interior Emerges: Arrowsmith's Map of North America, 1814 14
A Landmark of Eighteenth-Century Surveying: *The Atlantic Neptune*, 1775–1781 16
A Small Portion of Murray's Gigantic Map of the Province of Quebec, 1761 18

After the Conquest
21

A New Dawn? The British Army Occupies Québec City, 1759 22
The British Commemorate Their Victories, 1758–1760 24
Some French and French-Canadians Leave 28
A Few British Come 30
The Proclamation of 1763: The British Set Out How They Will Govern Quebec 32
The Church Faces a Crisis 34
Life Goes On 36
The British Revise the Rules: The Quebec Act of 1774 38
Newfoundland: Britain's Greatest Ship, circa 1800 40
Peopling the Maritimes: A Census of 1775 42

The American Revolution, 1775–1783
45

The Rebel Appeal to French Canada, 1776 46
A Loyalist Speaks His Mind, 1775 48
The Americans Attack: Montgomery's Campaign to Montreal, 1775 50
Benedict Arnold Shells Québec City, 1775–1776 52
Halifax: Guardian of the North, 1781 54
The Loyalists Come: A Loyalist Provisioning List, 1786 56
The Loyalist Boom Town of Shelburne, Nova Scotia, 1789 58
Origin of the Term "United Empire Loyalist," 1789 60
The Embryo of Modern Canada, 1784 62

Settlement and Population
65

A Record Birth Rate 66
The Loyalists Transform the Face of English-Speaking British North America, 1783–1784 68
Some Americans Petition for Land, 1792 70
The Skirl of Bagpipes: A List of Scottish Immigrants to Canada, 1802 72
The Theory: A Model Township, 1790 74
The Reality: Diagram of Dunham Township, Quebec, 1796 76
Conditions of Land Granting: Yonge Street, 1798 78
A Royal Town: Halifax, 1800 80
Québec City: Comfort and Squalor, 1804 82
A Capital Among the Tree Stumps: York (Toronto), circa 1803 84
The Mail Gets Through – Maybe, 1811–1812 86

Political and General Social Development, 1784–1812
89

Upper Canada 90
Quebec 92
A Massive Counter-Petition Attempts to Avoid Reform in Quebec, 1784 94
Posters from the First Quebec Election, 1792 96
A French-English Clash in the Quebec Assembly, 1805 98
Governor Craig and the Suppression of the *Parti canadien*, 1810 100
Nova Scotia 102
New Brunswick 104
Prince Edward Island Through Rose-Coloured Glasses, 1779 106
A Prince Edward Island Exposé, 1808 .08
Newfoundland: The Colony that Wasn't Supposed to Be, 1813 110

Economy
113

Tables Reveal the Extent and Value of the Montreal Fur Trade, 1767 114
A Voyageur Signs Up with the North West Company, 1787 116
Join the Hudson's Bay Company and See the World: A Recruiting Poster, circa 1815 118
Eyeball to Eyeball on Cat Lake: Fur Trade Rivalry Intensifies, 1790 120
The Founding of the Red River Colony, 1812 122
A "Wooden" Country: New Brunswick, 1784 124
Hull to Québec City or Bust: The Lumber Boom is Born, 1806 126
An Early Concern with Conservation, 1808 128
Wooden Ships for Wooden Cargoes, circa 1815–1820 130
The Dawning of the Great Age of Sail, 1760–1815 132
Making the Atlantic Coast Safe for Canadian Commerce, 1806 134
A Busy Shipping Season for Liverpool, Nova Scotia, and the Beginnings of a Millionaire, 1811 136
Cod Makes Newfoundland North American, 1810 138
A Fishing Station on the St. Lawrence River, 1809 140
Were They Growing Fences? Farming in New Brunswick, circa 1790 142
Patterns on the Land: French-Canadian Agriculture, 1795 144
Merchant Shops in Québec City, 1806 146
A Mill at Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, circa 1801 148
Child Slavery? An Apprentice's Indenture, 1785 150

Religion
153

Congregational Meeting House, St. John's, Newfoundland, circa 1789 154
The "New Light" in Nova Scotia, 1775–1784 156
The Pious Habitant? 1810 158
A Defender of the Faith 160
A Manuscript of Possibly the Oldest Preserved Canadian Composition, circa 1756–1791 162
"The Most Valuable Baptist Document in Ontario," 1805 164

Society and Culture
167

The First Novel Written in North America, 1763–1768 168
An English Canadian Poem, circa 1806 170
A Poem by French Canada's Most Significant Contemporary Writer 172
Canada's First Ethnic Publication, 1787 174
French-Canadian Portraiture, circa 1800 176
Seeds for Sale, circa 1764–1773 178
Fishing on the Montmorency River, 1782 180
A Dance in the Château St. Louis, 1801 182

Social Conditions
185

Lottery Tickets, 1781 186
A Mutual Insurance Club, circa 1805 188
The Inmates of a Hospital at Montreal, 1814–1815 190
Liquor Control, 1787 192
The Petition of a Thief Against the Branding of His Hand, 1795 194

Native Peoples
197

An Important Fragment in the Beothuk Puzzle, 1768 198
A Symbol of Micmac Resistance, circa 1804 200
The Iroquois: Brother Against Brother, 1780 202
Western Indians: Dependants of the Fur Trade? 1776 204
The Pacific Coast, 1778 206
An Extraordinary Painting of an Inuit Costume, circa 1768–1781 208

War of 1812
211

A Letter that Gave the British a Vital Warning, 1812 212
An Indian Ceremony to Mark the Death of Brock, 1812 214
French Canada Supports the War, 1813 216
Châteauguay, 1813: A Key French-Canadian Victory 218
Attack on Fort Oswego, 1814 220
Carnage at Fort Erie, 1814 222
A Woman's View of the War, 1814 224
Canada's Most Famous Privateer, the *Liverpool Packet*, 1813 226
The Upper Canada Preserved Medal, 1813 228

Index
231

Foreword

Colonial Identities is the third volume of a National Archives series entitled *Records of Our History*. The series is based on the premise that Canada's past has a future: that Canadians can come to a better understanding of themselves through an appreciation of their collective memory — their archival heritage. The book can be used by scholars and the general public both as a reference tool and as a general history. It consists of reproductions of 113 archival documents — manuscripts, maps, works of documentary art and rare printed items. Almost all are contemporary to the period. Some have the stature and significance to make them national treasures, while others, once part of everyday life, are now made rare and precious by the fact of their survival. All are drawn from the extensive collections of the National Archives of Canada.

The documents have been arranged by broad theme with a commentary to describe each item, fit it into the theme and explain the significance of such material in understanding our past. The book is designed to allow readers to browse through it or to read it from cover to cover, and refer to the records that illustrate, support and explain the text.

I trust that many people will have the opportunity to read *Colonial Identities*. It is my hope that the wealth of records it contains will make Canadian history more alive and meaningful. This, after all, is the objective of the National Archives of Canada.

Jean-Pierre Wallot
National Archivist

Introduction and Acknowledgments

Between the years 1760 and 1815, Canada as we know it today did not exist. In the scattered colonies and territories of the half of North America that would one day become the Canadian nation, people went about their daily routines in ways that now seem exotic and quaint. In retrospect, the period was one of limited colonial identities.

No other period in the history of Canada, however, incorporates more events and developments as basic to the understanding of present-day Canada as that between the Conquest and the end of the War of 1812. In that period, a coherent geographical outline of Canada was pieced together for the first time. The previously unexplored parts of the Prairies, the western mountains and the Pacific slope all became known to Europeans. Only the far north remained little known, except to its own inhabitants.

Like our own days, this period was one of wars and uncertainties. Its conflicts shaped modern Canada. The Conquest established a basic reality of Canadian existence: the continuing presence of the French and English cultures within a single political entity. Both language groups then established patterns of confrontation and conciliation within which they still co-exist today. Other ethnic groups at the time adapted to this pattern, some finding advantages in a mixed-culture society, others, like Canada's native peoples, having to struggle to maintain their distinctiveness.

A second conflict, the American Revolution, coming less than twenty years after the Conquest, shattered dreams of a British empire that would encompass most of North America and, almost by default, define Canada's modern boundaries. The Revolution brought to Canada a population, refugees from the old Thirteen Colonies, who would be both attracted and repelled by their former homeland. The War of 1812, thirty years later, gave the British American colonies a sharp awareness of the might of their southern neighbour, but also marked their firm rejection of absorption into the republic. International events, like the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, did much to shape emerging patterns of politics, ideology and economic development.

The period was one of growth and increasing sophistication. In the beginning, the economy was based primarily on furs and fish. Well before 1815, the colonists became successful hewers of wood, processors, manufacturers, grain exporters, shipbuilders, entrepreneurs and international traders. The growth of Canadian culture often seemed fragile, but it began to blossom with the publication of British North America's first novel, poetry and plays in both languages, substantial travel and religious writings, and a distinctive style of French Canadian painting. All the existing colonies that would some day make up Canada experienced their regional variations as each looked to solve its distinctive political and social concerns, yet all shared the common experience of contending with the imperial government to establish a space in which to be themselves.

It may be helpful to clarify some geographical areas. "Canada," in the period before 1791, meant the province of Quebec and much of what is now Ontario. "British North America" seems a preferable term to cover the other colonies and regions with which we are concerned, and this term will be used throughout, even though before the American Revolution it could be taken to include what is now the United States of America.

I hope this book will give its readers as much pleasure as its compilation has given me.

Many people have aided in the preparation of this book. For their substantial contributions, I wish especially to thank my colleagues, Jim Burant, Terry Cook, Ed Dahl, Patricia Kennedy, Gilles Langelier, Lise Perron-Croteau and Dawn Monroe. Many thanks to all those in the Historical Resources, Conservation and Public Programs Branches who have contributed to it. Stephen Willis of the Music Division, National Library, was generous with his knowledge of the Ste. Foy volume of religious music (Item 74), while Bernard Pothier of the Canadian War Museum and Richard Wright of the University of New Brunswick shared their knowledge of the Micmac catechism and grammar (Item 90).

The items in this book were displayed in an exhibition at the National Archives of Canada.

Bruce G. Wilson

I

Exploration and Surveying

The period 1760 to 1815 saw Canada quite literally "put on the map." Exploration, mapping and charting of the Canadian West and the Pacific Coast by Europeans proceeded at a remarkable rate. Native peoples, who had for generations known their particular territories, provided vital aid and guidance to white explorers. Driven by economic forces as well as imperial rivalries, explorers and traders surveyed the Prairies and penetrated through the mountain barriers to the ocean. Others sailed up the Pacific Coast. Two explorers journeyed northward overland to touch the Arctic coast at two different points. In the East, extensive charting of the Atlantic coastline and more comprehensive land surveys yielded an increasingly detailed and complex picture of the land and its surrounding waters. By 1815, only the western Arctic coastline and islands remained largely unknown territory. The geographical jigsaw puzzle for the half continent that was to become Canada had otherwise been pieced together.

I

A Contemporary Account of Little-Known Spanish Voyages Along the Pacific Coast, 1774–1792

It is not well known that the first European explorers of Canada's West Coast were Spanish. Reacting to the beginnings of Russian penetration from the north, the Spanish in 1774 sent Juan José Pérez (circa 1725–1775) from Monterey, California, to explore the unknown coast to the north. Pérez reached as far as the northwest corner of the Queen Charlotte Islands. A second Spanish voyage occurred the following year. Explorations continued at intervals until 1793. The Spanish penetrated up the coast well into Alaska, but withdrew from the Northwest Coast after 1795, and had no further direct influence on its history.

The book illustrated here describes the voyage of the *Sutil* and the *Mexicana*, two Spanish schooners that spent the summer of 1792 exploring the Strait of Georgia. The 167-page introduction describes all the Spanish voyages to 1792. The secrecy with which Spanish authorities cloaked the voyages makes this comprehensive review of great significance.

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RELACION

DEL VIAGE HECHO POR LAS GOLETAS

SUTIL Y MEXICANA

EN EL AÑO DE 1792

PARA RECONOCER EL ESTRECHO DE FUCA;

CON UNA INTRODUCCION

EN QUE SE DA NOTICIA DE LAS EXPEDICIONES EXECUTADAS ANTERIORMENTE POR LOS ESPAÑOLES EN BUSCA DEL PASO DEL NOROESTE DE LA AMÉRICA.

DE ÓRDEN DEL REY.

MADRID EN LA IMPRENTA REAL
AÑO DE 1802.

Relacion del viage hecho por las goletas Sutil y Mexicana . . . . [Jose Espinosa y Tello], ed. Madrid en la Imprenta Real, 1802. Title page.

National Archives of Canada: Library (Negative no. C-130522).

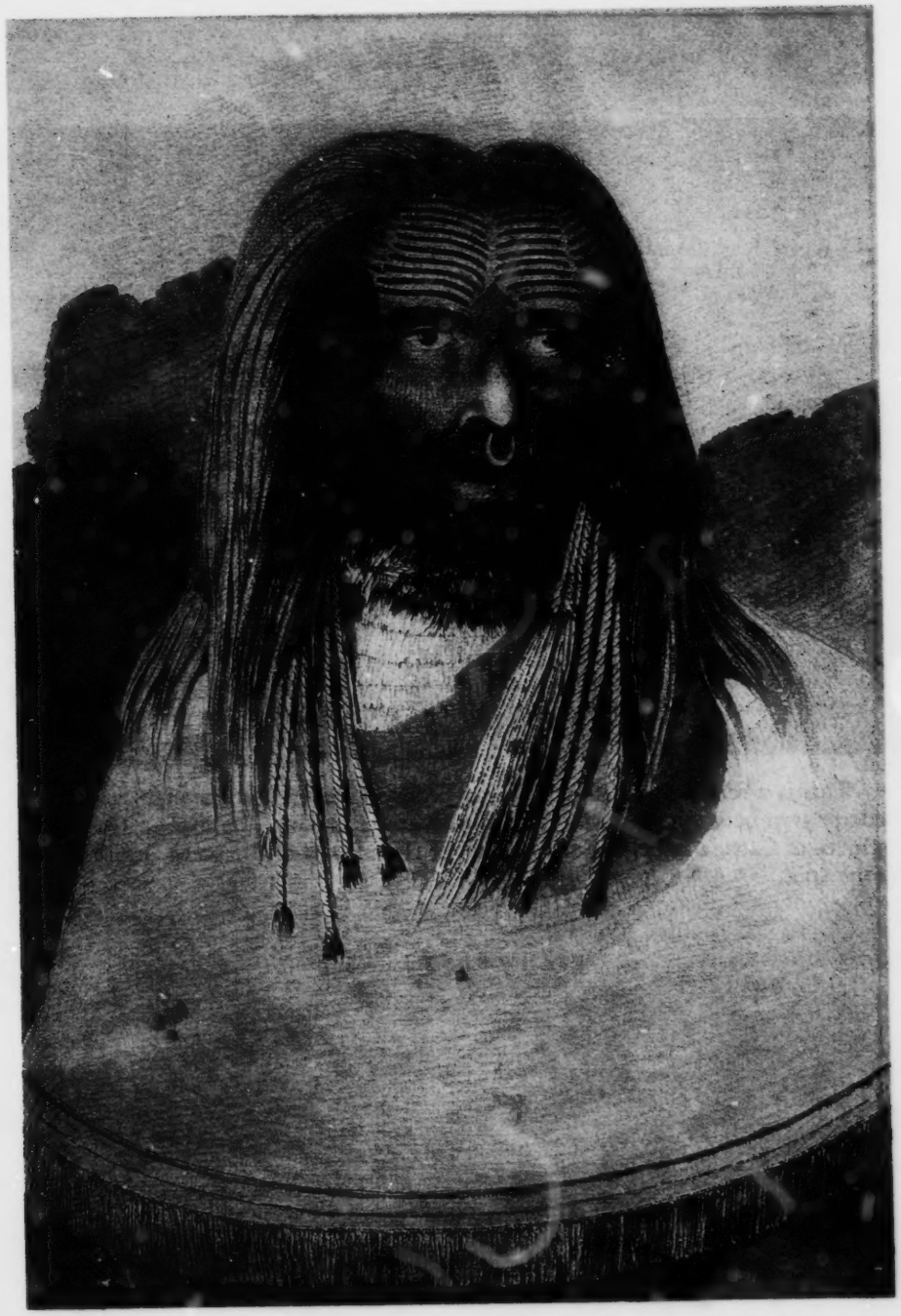
A Native of Nootka Sound (Vancouver Island), 1778

The third voyage of the famous explorer and navigator, Captain James Cook (1728–1779), which he commenced in 1776, was intended as an assertion of British claims following reports of the first Spanish expeditions. Previous attempts had been made from the east to find a northern passage by water between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. With his extensive experience in the Pacific, Cook was instructed to try to find a passage from the west.

Cook arrived on the northwest coast in March 1778. His two vessels anchored at Nootka (now Resolution Cove, Nootka Sound, Vancouver Island) for a month to take on wood and water and to undertake repairs. The halt allowed Cook and his officers to make detailed observations of the local people.

This careful sketch of a native is one of twenty-nine extant drawings by John Webber (1751–1793) depicting Nootka Sound. The sketches constitute an important basis of our present understanding of Nootka culture at the time of first contact with Europeans. The man has dressed his hair and body with grease and paint. His face is painted with red ocher — a custom that was common everywhere on the northwest coast — perhaps as a protection against the sun. This man's addition of other paint was for aesthetic reasons. Ear ornaments were common, as were nose-rings cut from pieces of abalone shell or fashioned from copper. The fur-trimmed rain cape of woven cedar hints at the skill in basketry and weaving possessed by the Nootka.

John Webber, a professional portrait and landscape painter, was the official artist on Cook's third voyage. Sixty-one engravings were commissioned from his works to appear in James Cook's and James King's *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* . . . (3 vols., London, 1784). The National Archives holds six original Webber drawings from the expedition. This particular pastel was not the source of a published engraving and has seldom been seen by the public.



Man of Nootka Sound (Vancouver Island), April 1778. John Webber (1751–1793). Pastel with ink and grey wash, after 1778. 45.6×31.1 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-13415).

Cook's Men Turn Back from Their Search for a Northwest Passage, 1778

Bad weather forced Cook's vessels out to sea as they left Nootka. They did not sight land again until they had moved beyond the boundaries of present-day Canada and into Alaskan waters. There the grim reality of polar navigation soon emerged as the expedition was driven back by a massive wall of ice blocking its progress eastward.

In this sketch, also by Webber, Cook's ships, the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*, can be seen in the background, and behind them the mountains of ice that had blocked their progress. Walrus were not generally eaten, but occasionally those on board Cook's ships welcomed a respite from the ever-present salted meat.

Cook's ships retreated through the Bering Strait to winter in the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands, where Cook met his death. A second attempt by his crew to find a Northwest Passage was equally unsuccessful. Despite the fact that the expedition had failed in what it considered its primary objective, the real significance of the voyage was that the northwest coast of America was known to Europeans at last. Unlike the Spaniards, Cook and his officers revealed to the world — through narratives, maps and drawings like this one — where they had been and what they had seen.

This is a relatively finished drawing probably done after the voyage as an intermediary step between an on-the-spot-sketch and a finished engraving. The National Archives of Canada holds another version of this sketch of the scene, probably made on the spot.

Cook's Men Shooting Walrus,
19 August 1778. John Webber (1751–1793). Pencil, ink, and grey wash, after 1778. 16.3 × 30.1 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-2621).

I

The Log of a Spanish Ship that Almost Started a War, 1789

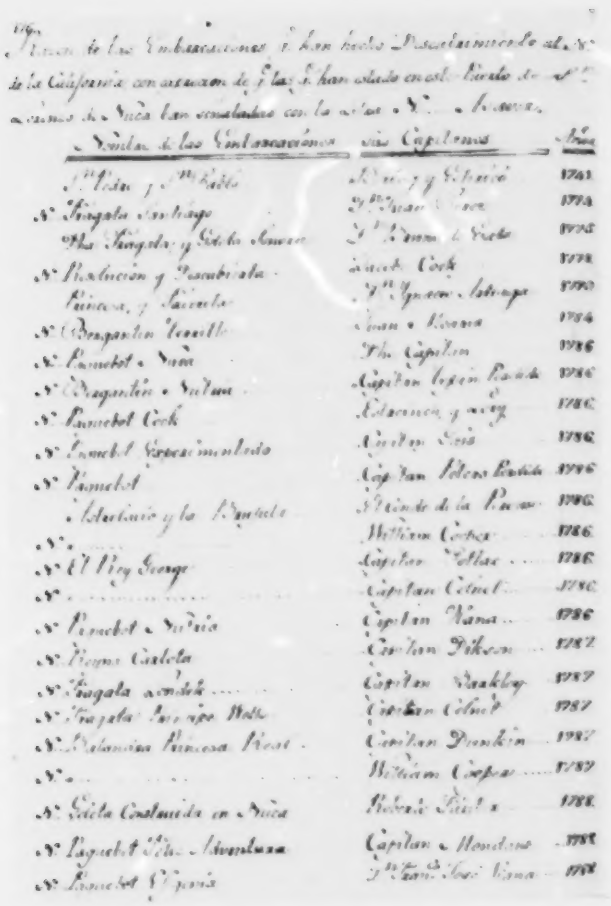
The Spaniard Esteban José Martínez (circa 1742–1798) wrote in the log of his ship *Princesa* a list of all ships that he believed had visited Nootka Sound up to and including his visit in 1789. The list included names of explorers such as the Spaniard Pérez, the Englishman Cook and the Frenchman Lapérouse. The majority of the names, however — Cooper, Colnett, Dickson, Meares and others — were those of English and American merchants trading for highly profitable sea otter skins.

On their way home to England, Captain Cook's crews called at Canton for supplies. There they discovered that furs for which they had bartered trinkets on the northwest coast could be sold at fantastically high prices. Their profits did not go unnoticed, and for a short period sparked a trade in sea otter fur by British and American vessels. These trading expeditions, too, added to the knowledge of the coast and its inhabitants.

Increased commercial activity led the Spanish to send Martínez to Nootka to bolster his nation's claim to sovereignty. Martínez seized a small fort built by the Englishman John Meares and two of Meares's ships, the *Argonaut* and the *Princess Royal*, both of which appear on Martínez's list.

It was a period of international tension, and the incident brought England and Spain to the brink of war. The French Revolution, however, intervened, and the protagonists came together to sign the Nootka Sound Convention of 1790, which stated that the fisheries and navigation of the Pacific Ocean would be open to British subjects except within ten leagues of coasts occupied by Spain.

The log of the *Princesa* is a clerical copy of the original, which was lost shortly thereafter when the ship sank. The last page of this copy contains a certification signed on 6 December 1789 by Martínez, that this is a faithful copy of the original log made at anchor off San Blas, Mexico.



Razon de las Embarcaciones q. han hecho Descubrimiento al N. de la California con asistencia de q.es se han visto en este Puerto de N.S. de Buena Esperanza de Nutka con expresion de sus Nombres, Capitanes, y años.

Nombres de las Embarcaciones	sus Capitanes	Años
N.S. de Pilar y N.S. de Rosario	D. Ignacio y D. Gonzalo	1775
N.S. Fragata Santiago	D. Juan Perez	1774
Ntra. Fragata y Goleta Sonora	D. Juan de la Bodega y Quadra	1775
N.S. Fragata de Guadalupe	Juan Perez	1774
N.S. de la Asuncion y Descubierta Princesa, y Favorita	D. Ygnacio Arteaga	1779
N.S. del Rosario y Principe	Juan de Ayala	1779
N.S. Paquebot de Nutka	Don Esteban	1779
N.S. Paquebot de Nutka	Esteban, y Martinez	1779
N.S. Paquebot Santa Gertrudis la Magna	Gonzalo Lopez	1779
N.S. Paquebot Nutka y la Favorita	Miguel de la Pezuela	1779
N.S. [illegible]	William Cowper	1779
N.S. El Rey George	Capitan Hanna	1779
N.S. [illegible]	Capitan Colnett	1779
N.S. Paquebot de Nutka	Capitan Hanna	1779
N.S. Reyna Carlota	Capitan Dixon	1787
N.S. Fragata Imperial	Capitan Duncan	1787
N.S. Fragata Principe Wales	Capitan Colnett	1787
N.S. Balandra Princesa Real	Capitan Duncan	1787
N.S. [illegible]	William Cowper	1787
N.S. Goleta Constancia en Nutka	Roberto Funter	1788
N.S. Paquebot Ntra. Aventura	Capitan de Mendoza	1788
N.S. Paquebot Princesa	D. Juan Jose Perez	1788

N.S. Balandra Washington	Robert Gray	1788
N.S. Fragata Columbia	Juan Kendrick	1788
N.S. Fragata la Princesa y Paquebot S. Carlos	Comand.te D. Estevan Jose Martinez / Martinez	1789
N.S. Balandra Princesa Real	Thomas Hudson	1789
N.S. Goleta Constancia en Nutka	Roberto Funter	1789
N.S. Paquebot de Sequonal	Roberto Duffin	1789
En el Ntro. El Fuerte	Cayetano Cabral	1790

Dia 28 de Noviembre de Julio de 1790

[illegible] Capitanes, y Pilotos reynos tolerando y contando en [illegible] para la Salida de la Barra en que hemos de pasar la Barra [illegible]

A Media de la mañana se hizo a la Vela desde este Puerto la Fragata Columbia, y Balandra Washington, para reynos adentro de reconocimientos, a los que salio a dejar hasta fuera de distancia de 3 ó 4 millas con mi Lancha acompañado de los RR. PP. Misioneros Apostolicos, a mi Bordo el mismo dia.

El Piloto de Ntra. Fragata D. Juan Ingraham me hizo presente solemnemente de mi cuenta mi Capitan en compañia de algunos de los Individuos de los Bordes de Nutka de los principales de Nutka, y Pilotos de la Goleta, Lobos, Lanchas, Canoas de Nutka, y con calidad de retirar del Barco y Ancoras del mar en este Puerto, y mi agrado Voluntario.

Log of the *Princesa* [clerical copy].
Esteban José Martínez Fernandez y Martínez de la Sierra (circa 1742–1798).
Manuscript log, 1789.

National Archives of Canada:
Manuscript Division, MG 23, J 12,
pp. 176–177.

I

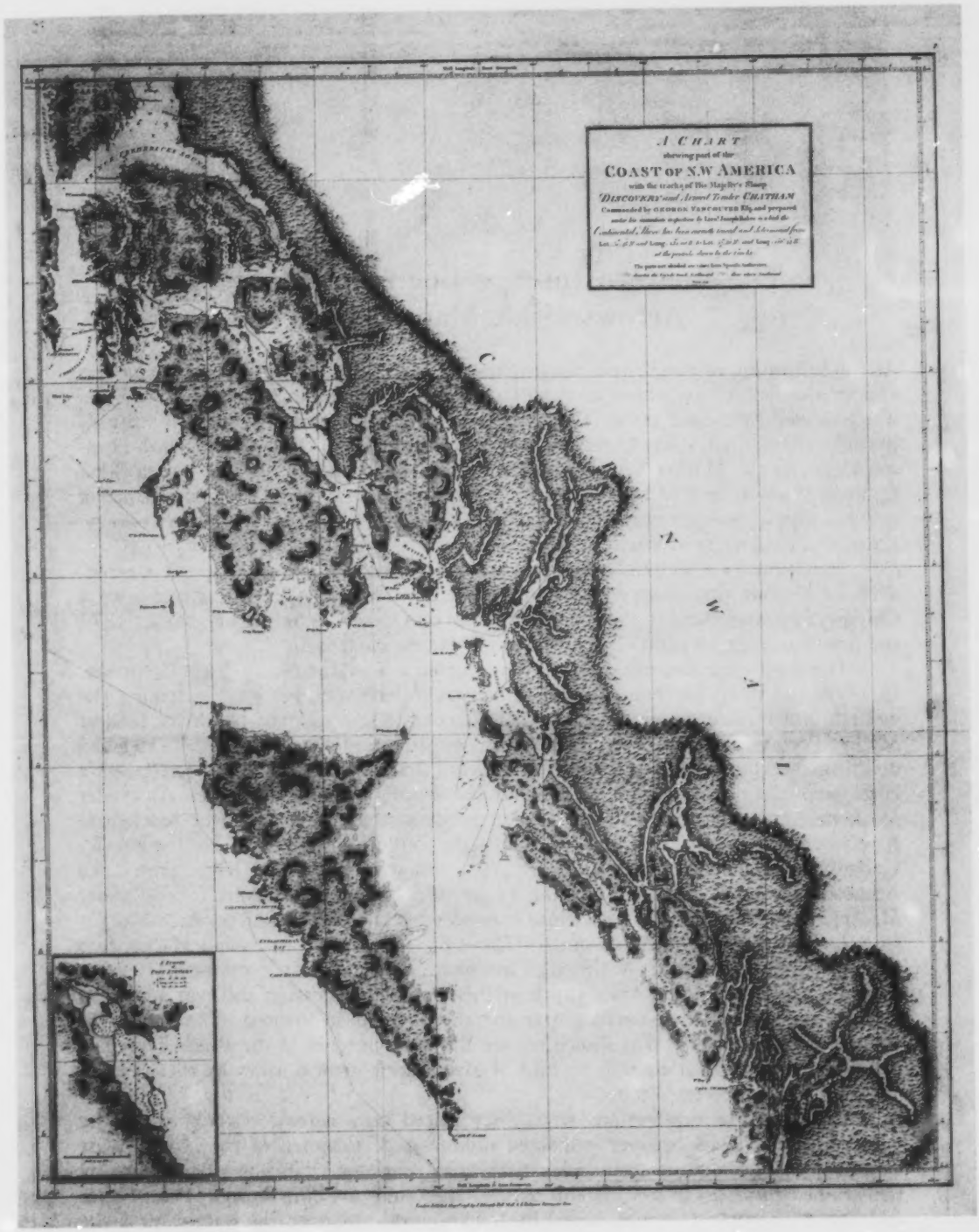
Vancouver Traces the Coastline of Modern British Columbia and Alaska, 1792–1794

The Spanish concessions encouraged the British to undertake an extensive hydrographic survey of the north Pacific in 1792, both to encourage trade and to consolidate their own claims. The skills and thorough work of Captain George Vancouver (1757–1798) made him an obvious choice for the expedition. He had spent more than half his life at sea and had been trained in surveying and navigation by Cook and William Wales, a noted astronomer. In addition to the hydrographic survey, Vancouver was to search again for a water network leading to a Northwest Passage.

The chart shown here was compiled from the data collected on Vancouver's 1792–1794 expedition. The track of his ships can be traced on the map. Many place names he assigned are still in use, a tribute to the wide currency of his charts. As the chart notes, Vancouver relied on Spanish accounts for areas he did not visit; indeed he assigned Spanish names to places visited by Spanish navigators, notably on this chart between the Queen Charlotte Islands and the mainland (Hecate Strait), and north of the same islands (Dixon Entrance).

With Vancouver's meticulous surveys, a whole new region emerged to be placed on European maps. Vancouver's careful work shattered the last hopes of finding a transcontinental waterway. He provided the definitive eighteenth-century survey of the western coastline of Canada, and his charts were copied and recopied. As yet, little was known of what lay behind the coastal headlands, but earlier maps would now have to be redrawn to replace the great "Sea of the West" with a new unbroken coastline.

This chart is the sixth in an untitled atlas accompanying Vancouver's *Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean . . .* (3 vols., London, 1798). The atlas was quickly followed by other editions in other languages. The Archives holds the 1798 English edition and the 1799 French edition.


A CHART
shewing part of the
COAST OF N.W AMERICA
with the tracks of His Majesty's Sloops
DISCOVERY and Armed Tender CHATHAM
Commanded by GEORGE VANCOUVER Esq. and prepared
under his immediate inspection by Lieut. Joseph Baker who had the
Command of the latter, from the Entrance of Queen Charlotte's Sound
in Lat. 50° 0' N and Long. 235° 30' E to Lat. 56° 26' N and Long. 226° 42' E
at the period down to the year 1794

A Chart shewing part of the Coast of N.W. America . . . . [Insert of Port Stewart], George Vancouver (1757–1798) and Joseph Baker. Etching by Warner. Map: engraved, 74.2 × 60.0 cm.

In Atlas to accompany George Vancouver. *Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World.* 3 vols., London: J. Edwards and G. Robinson, 1798.

National Archives of Canada: Cartographic and Architectural Archives Division (NMC 18923).

I

The Western Interior Begins to Emerge: Arrowsmith's Map of 1795

At the beginning of the British regime, the far western interior of the continent was almost as unknown to whites as the Pacific Coast until the impetus for exploration was provided by the fur trade. That trade was locked in a great commercial struggle between the Hudson's Bay Company (operating through the rivers flowing into Hudson Bay) and the Montreal fur companies (dominated eventually by the North West Company, which entered the West via the Great Lakes). Their race for dominance of new fur supply grounds pushed the companies westward into the Athabasca Country, across the Rockies, and finally to the Pacific.

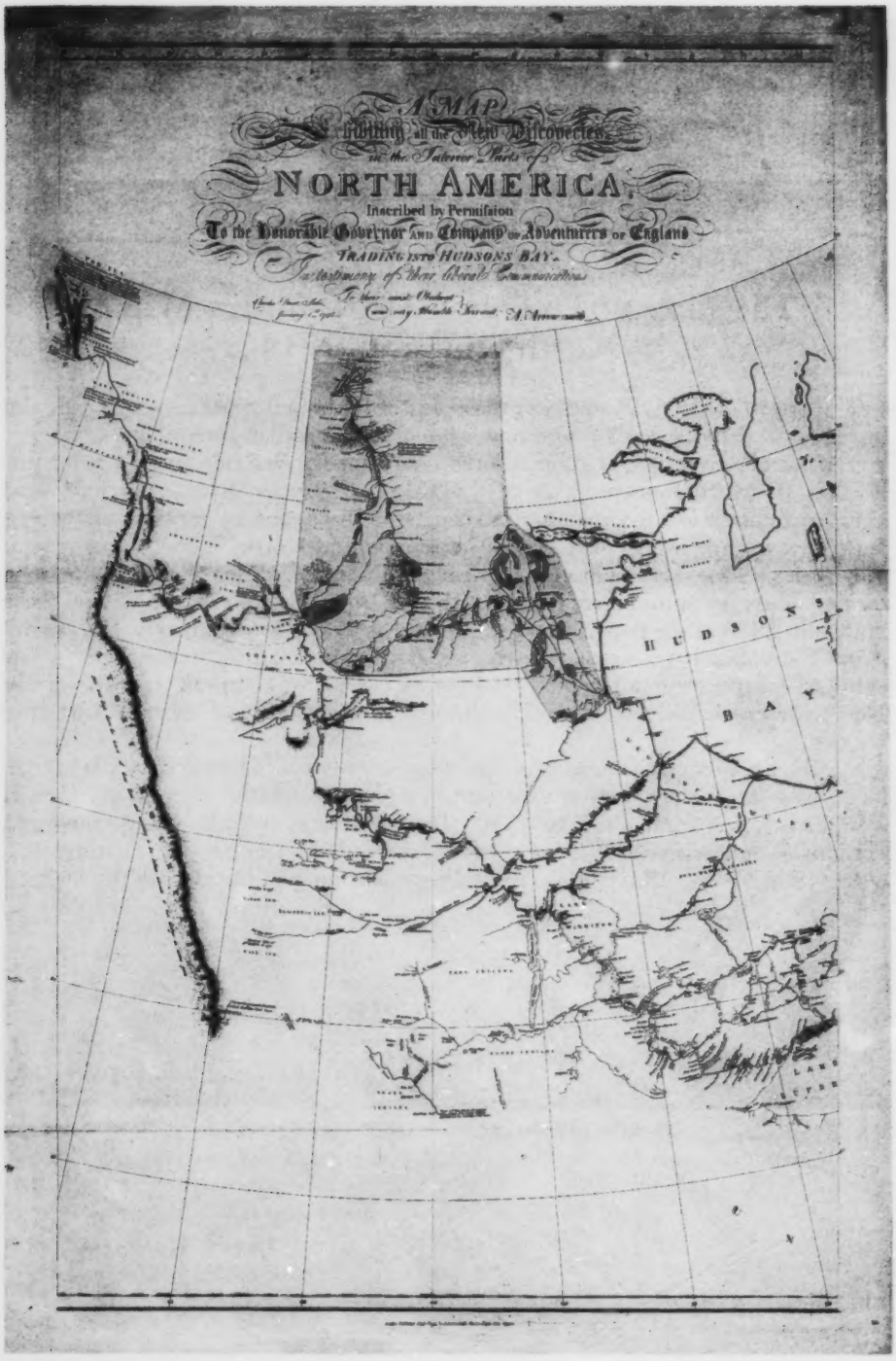
Searching for a western passage to the markets of the Orient, Samuel Hearne, a Hudson's Bay Company servant, journeyed down the Coppermine River with a Chipewyan Indian band to the shores of the Arctic Ocean, becoming on 17 July 1771 the first European to sight the continent's northern coastline.

The most extensive explorations were carried out by the North West Company. In 1778, one of its partners, Peter Pond, pushed decisively westward. Crossing the western end of Lake Superior, Pond tracked northwest across the height of land at Methye Portage and into the fur-rich Athabasca region. He had crossed the watershed dividing the Hudson Bay and the Arctic Ocean drainage basins, taking Europeans a large step closer to the mountains and the Pacific. Pond's associate, Alexander Mackenzie, set out in 1789 from Lake Athabasca to follow a river (the Mackenzie River) that he thought would lead to the Pacific, only to discover it led to the Arctic. Undaunted, Mackenzie tried again in 1793, following the Peace River from Lake Athabasca into the Rockies, and the Fraser and Bella Coola Rivers to the coast. Mackenzie had become the first white man to cross the Canadian Rockies.

This map by Aaron Arrowsmith (1750–1833) depicts Hearne's and Mackenzie's journeys to the Arctic Sea — although information on Hearne's journey of 1771 was apparently unavailable to Arrowsmith at the time of publication and was added on a small slip pasted in sometime after the sheet had been printed. The Athabasca country explored by Pond is shown, as are the lower reaches of the Peace River out of Lake Athabasca, but there is no hint of Mackenzie's great journey by that river in 1793 on his way to the Pacific.

Vital as these explorations were, they traced only narrow trails through the wilderness; the lands between remained unknown. If the men of the North West Company made the more spectacular discoveries, it was the Hudson's Bay Company that trained surveyors of considerable skill — men such as Philip Turnor, Peter Fidler and David Thompson — who, aided by Indian guides, mapped the waterways of the fur country. The surveys of Philip Turnor from York Factory to Lake Athabasca in 1791 are faithfully recorded on the map, as is the latest information on the Saskatchewan River system, based principally on Peter Fidler's travels.

The maps of the Arrowsmith firm are among the most important sources of information on western exploration. This map, of which only the centre sheet of three is reproduced, is Arrowsmith's first American compilation. Before Arrowsmith's map was published, little was known about western Canada. Previous maps were generalized and frequently inaccurate.



A Map Exhibiting all the New Discoveries in the Interior Parts of North America . . . . A. Arrowsmith (1750–1833). London: A. Arrowsmith, 1795. Map: hand-coloured, engraved, 88.4 × 57.5 cm. Middle sheet of three only.

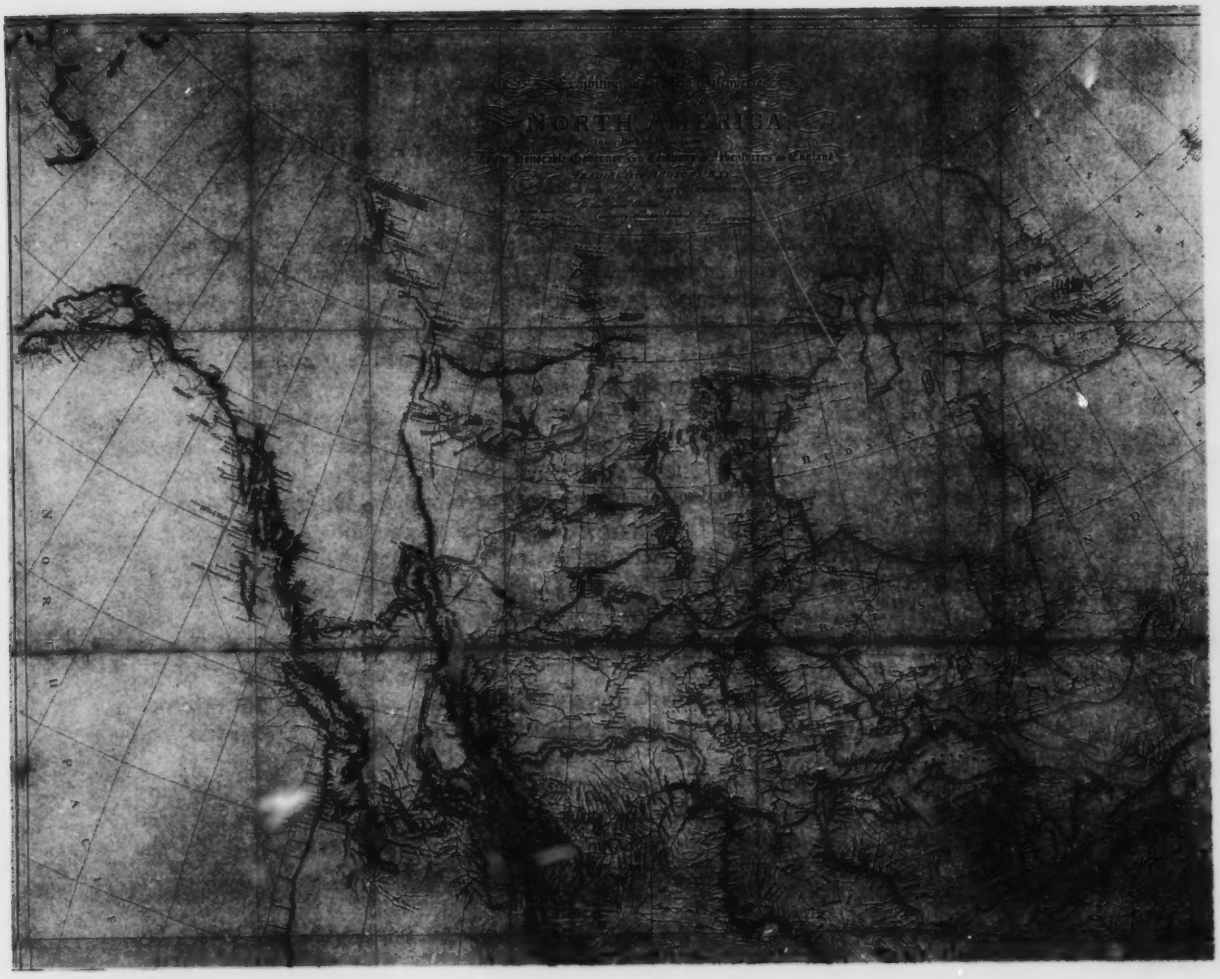
National Archives of Canada: Cartographic and Architectural Archives Division (NMC 97818).

The Interior Emerges: Arrowsmith's Map of North America, 1814

A comparison of the 1795 and 1814 versions of Arrowsmith's map graphically demonstrates the rapidly developing knowledge of the Canadian interior.

Much of Arrowsmith's information on the Canadian interior came from his firm's position as unofficial map-maker to the Hudson's Bay Company, which gave him access to information and manuscript maps sent to London by servants of the Company. Arrowsmith had little access to information on North West Company discoveries and surveys. He could use published accounts for Mackenzie's route to the Pacific. There is nothing on Arrowsmith's 1814 map, however, of Simon Fraser's journey in 1808 to the Pacific down the river that was to bear his name. The portrayal of the Columbia River drainage is based on information from the American Lewis and Clarke Expedition rather than on the work of David Thompson. It is also unlikely that Arrowsmith had access to Thompson's extensive surveys of areas east of the Rockies.

Still, the numerous editions of Arrowsmith's map of North America are the best documents for the study of the evolving cartographic knowledge of the Canadian West and North from 1795 to 1850. The map went through more than twenty revisions. The Archives holds six versions, dated 1795 (centre sheet of three only), 1796, 1802, 1814, 1821 and 1833 (with manuscript additions to 1838).



A Map Exhibiting all the New Discoveries in the Interior Parts of North America . . . . Additions to June 1814
A. Arrowsmith (1750–1833). Engraved by Puke. London: Arrowsmith, 1795.
Map: hand-coloured, engraved, 124.0 × 145.0 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Cartographic and Architectural Archives Division (NMC 48909).

I

A Landmark of Eighteenth-Century Surveying: *The Atlantic Neptune*, 1775–1781

Surveying in Western Canada and on the Pacific coast was matched by work on the Atlantic coast. With her victory over France in 1763, Britain found herself in possession of a vast new American empire, the eastern coasts of which were only sketchily charted. To prepare for increased settlement and trade, better surveys were urgently required. The need was filled beginning in 1763–1764 by three junior officers who had served in previous military campaigns.

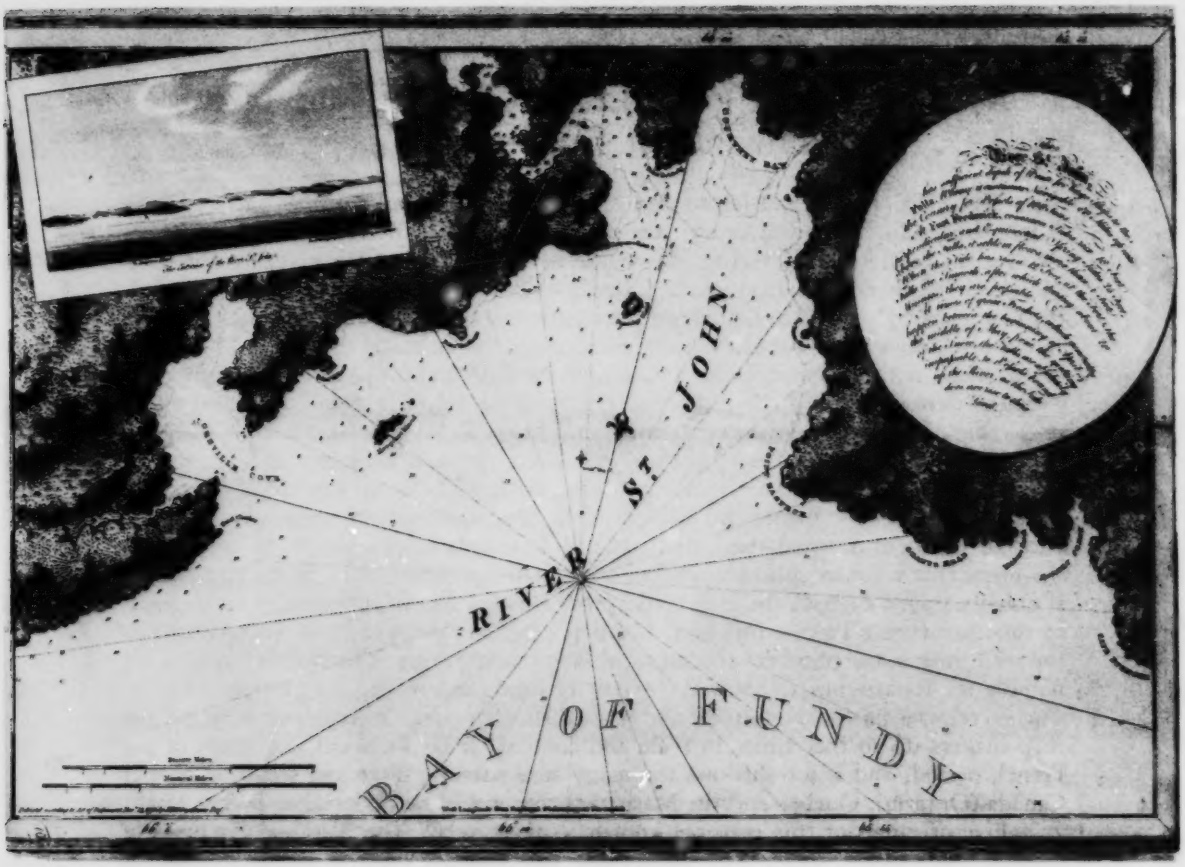
Before his Pacific voyages, James Cook (1728–1779) surveyed the deeply indented coast of Newfoundland with such accuracy that he still earned the admiration of surveyors a century later. His charts were published privately in London. Samuel Holland (1728–1801), named Surveyor General of the Northern District of America, commenced a decade of surveys of Prince Edward Island, the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Cape Breton and the Atlantic coastal lands from the Saint John River to New York City. Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres (1722–1824) undertook the more laborious surveys around Nova Scotia.

The need for improved charts for the impending American war led the British Admiralty to commission DesBarres in 1774 to undertake the publication of his survey and those of other officers working on the Atlantic coast. The project took ten years, and at its height DesBarres employed twenty engravers, printers and colourists.

The map of Saint John Harbour illustrates the excellence of the surveyors' and the cartographers' work. The harbour has ample soundings; the coastline is depicted in great detail. Various degrees of shading and ink-cover assist perspective and the perception of distance. So skilled is the work that it conveys the impression of an aerial photograph.

The high quality of DesBarres's charts meant a high sale price, and they were never widely used for commercial shipping, although they were extensively copied by other early chart-makers. However, there were doubts about many of the soundings, which were confirmed by the re-survey work of the following century. In spite of its flaws, *The Atlantic Neptune* remains a monument to the energy and ambition of its creator.

The National Archives holds more than seven hundred sheets from the various revisions of *The Atlantic Neptune*, as well as thirty of the sixty-four surviving copperplates used to produce the charts. The personal copy belonging to Jeffrey, Lord Amherst, military Commander-in-Chief in North America, was presented to the Archives by his descendants. The National Archives holds original DesBarres papers as well as transcripts, photocopies and microfilm copies.



A Chart of the Mouth and Harbour of the Saint John River. J.F.W. DesBarres (1722–1824). London: J.F.W. DesBarres, 1776. Map: hand-coloured, engraved, 49.8 × 74.2 cm.

In J.F.W. DesBarres. *Surveys of North America Entitled The Atlantic Neptune* . . . . London: J.F.W. DesBarres, 1775–1781.

National Archives of Canada: Cartographic and Architectural Archives Division (NMC 27969).

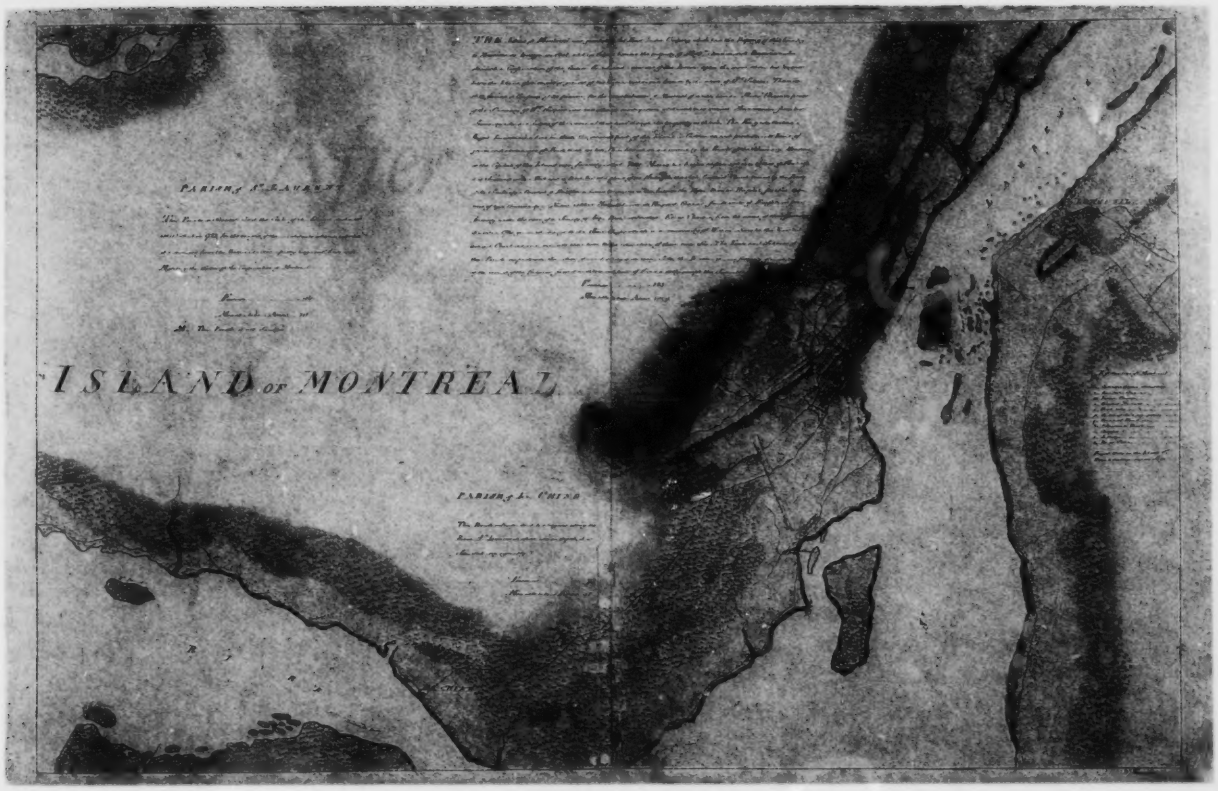
I

A Small Portion of Murray's Gigantic Map of the Province of Quebec, 1761

This depiction of Montreal Island and its environs is a detail from an extraordinary manuscript map. In its full extent, the map is 13.5 by 10.8 metres. It encompasses an area on both sides of the St. Lawrence River from Les Cèdres, upstream from Montreal, to Île aux Coudres in the vicinity of Baie St. Paul. Undertaken just after the Conquest by a group of British military surveyors under the supervision of General James Murray (d. 1794), it is a work of exceptional craftsmanship, combining superior cartography with a thorough examination of the land and its people. It incorporates a census done as part of the project so that one can tell at a glance such details as ownership, population, location of mills, and history.

Most of the surveys for the map were done between February and November 1761. Seven copies were laboriously produced by hand between the fall of 1761 and the summer of 1763. Before the Peace of 1763, the possibility of Canada being ceded back to France motivated the British to collect as much information as possible in the event that a future military conflict necessitated an attempt to retake the colony. If Quebec stayed British, the map could prove a useful tool in suppressing civil unrest or resisting future French invasion. Military concerns are evident in such details as the recording of the numbers of men capable of bearing arms. The map is particularly notable for its attempt to show the extent of farm land in the St. Lawrence Valley. The survey was one of the biggest and most difficult undertaken anywhere by British map-makers up to that time. In scale and content, it far surpasses any maps of the French period, and it foreshadows the many land surveys, large and small, of Upper Canada (Ontario), Quebec and the Maritimes that would be undertaken before 1815.

Five originals of this map are known to exist today. The National Archives of Canada holds two of them. The sheet illustrated here is from the original, which is believed to have been made for General Murray himself. It was drawn on smaller sheets of paper than the others, and with a key sheet to make it both portable and an easy reference tool. This map has a greater amount of detail than any of the others, including the depiction of individual buildings in the major towns.



Portion of Montreal Island and Environs. Map: hand-coloured, manuscript, 62.2×95.5 cm. Sheet Mc(8).

Detail of "Plan of Canada or the Province of Quebec from the uppermost Settlements to the Island of Coudre as survey'd by order of His Excellency Governor Murray in the year 1760. 61 & 62 . . . ."

National Archives of Canada: Cartographic and Architectural Archives Division (NMC 10842).

II

After the Conquest

Louisbourg, the French guardian of the St. Lawrence, fell in 1758. Québec City capitulated to the British in 1759. Montreal remained French until 1760. The Peace of Paris of 1763 confirmed the victories of British arms.

These were the bare facts of the Conquest, but behind them were many questions and uncertainties. The inhabitants of the colony of New France did not know what to expect. Would they remain French? That hope lingered until 1763. Would they be allowed to keep their property? Their language? Their religion? Would they be deported? Would they be allowed to leave the country? Should they return to France?

The British victors, for their part, faced for the first time the necessity of governing a European-settled colony different in civilization and culture from their own. They would need to provide answers to the hard questions the Canadians were asking.

In the Maritimes their new and underpopulated possessions also posed problems for the British. Newfoundland remained as it had long been, a major fisheries centre, with no official recognition given to its needs as a permanent colony.

II

A New Dawn? The British Army Occupies Québec City, 1759

British soldiers drilling before the gates of Fort Saint-Louis (the former residence of the French governor) must have been a poignant sight for French Canadians. Behind the soldiers, other reminders of the French influence — the Recollet Church and Convent and, to the right, the Roman Catholic Cathedral — lie damaged. In front of the cathedral are the shattered houses along rue Sainte-Anne, the most important of which were restored and still stand today. Fort Saint-Louis and the Recollet Church and Convent have long since disappeared.

One third of the houses in Québec City were destroyed by British bombardment, and many more were so shattered that they had to be pulled down. Winter was coming, and many people had been impoverished by the long conflict. There were fears of plundering by the army. Most Canadians would have scoffed at the notion of a "new dawn" implied by the artist of this view in the sun rising behind the church.

The engraving is one of a set of twelve views of Québec City based on the on-the-spot drawings of Richard Short (fl. 1754–1766), a naval officer who had come with the British fleet in 1759. Short is near the beginning of the long tradition of British military topographers in Canada whose works are well represented in the collections of the National Archives of Canada.

The print reproduced here is remarkable for its condition and looks as fresh as if it had been pulled off the press yesterday. It is from the Coverdale (Manoir Richelieu) Collection, one of the most important collections of Canadian documentary art, the majority of which was acquired by the National Archives of Canada in 1970.

A View of the Cathedral, Jesuits College, and Recollect Friars Church, taken from the Gate of the Governors House. Richard Short (fl. 1754–1766). Etching by P. Canot. London: Thomas Jefferys, 1761. Engraving. 32.4 × 50.8 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-361).

The British Commemorate Their Victories, 1758–1760

Weary of a long war that had stretched around the globe, the British were delighted with their victories in North America. This contemporary ballad and these commemorative medals suggest their enthusiasm.

The ballad was probably sung at the fashionable concerts at Vauxhall Gardens, London, where the composer, John Worgan, and the singer, Thomas Lowe, enjoyed much popular success. The lyricist, Mr. Lockman, demonstrates a sharp sense of the economic benefits of victory — especially in verses three and four. This song sheet was issued for general sale in London in 1760. The song also appeared in the *London Magazine* in 1760.

British victories in Canada occasioned a large number of medals, which ranged from expensive and finely crafted works of art for the rich and influential to cheap, mass-produced tokens. The medals depicted not only heroes and places associated with the Conquest, but also striking allegorical images contrasting Britain's glory to France's defeat.

The "Louisbourg Taken, 1758" medal (top) is an example of superior workmanship. Unlike most of the other medals shown here, which, after the convention of the time, were commemorative, it was a distinguished service medal to be conferred on selected recipients who took part in the capture. The obverse (front) is a large globe with a map of eastern North America. The globe is crushing a female figure (France) who casts away a fleur-de-lis. A British soldier and sailor stand to the left and right of the globe. The motto "Paritur in bello" (Equal in war) refers to their cooperation in the conflict.

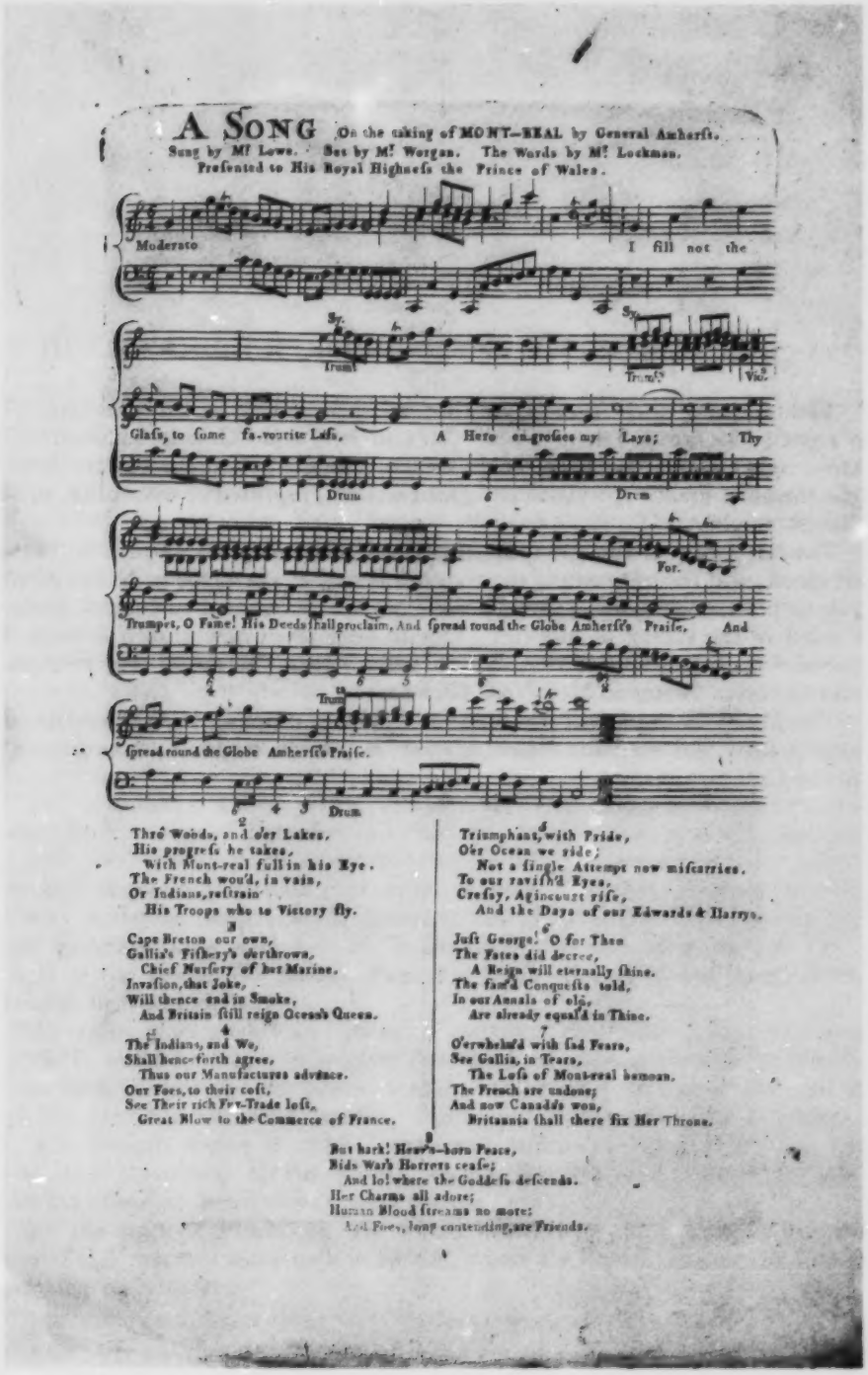
Very different in quality and intended market is the Admiral Boscawen medal (top left). It was issued by Christopher Pinchbeck, a London clockmaker who had for some time worked in "pinchbeck" metal, a cheap alloy of copper and zinc that looked like gold but tarnished rapidly. "Pinchbeck" became slang for anything inferior. The design, which is crude, represents Admiral Edward Boscawen, naval commander at Louisburg, on the obverse. Medals like this were intended for sale to the London crowd as mementos of great events.

Also the work of Pinchbeck, the medal labelled on the reverse "I Surrender Prisoner, 1758" (centre) and struck in bronze, shows the French commander Drucour surrendering to Boscawen.

II

The following three medals, labelled on their reverse "Québec Taken, 1759" (top right), "Montreal Taken, 1760" (bottom left) and "Canada Subdued, 1760" (bottom right) would have been purchased by an affluent clientele. All are variations on the theme of France as a classically robed woman, captured or mourning, subdued by British might.

The last medal in this grouping, inscribed "Montreal" on its obverse (bottom), is the rarest, and the only one of those shown here that was made in North America. Struck in pewter, it is one of twenty-three medals distributed to Indian chiefs who had aided in the taking of Montreal. One of only seven now known to exist, it is inscribed "Tankalkel/MOHIGRANS" on the reverse. The medal was executed by Daniel Christian Fueter in New York City.

The Medal Collection of the National Archives contains 12,000 medals, decorations, tokens and medallic items relating to a wide range of organizations and events in Canadian history.

A SONG On the taking of MONT-REAL by General Amherst.

Sung by Mr Lowe. Set by Mr Worgan. The Words by Mr Lockman.
Presented to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Moderato

I fill not the Glass, to some fa-vourite Lass, A Hero engrosses my Lays; Thy Trumpet, O Fame! His Deeds shall proclaim, And spread round the Globe Amherst's Praise. And spread round the Globe Amherst's Praise.

Thro' Woods, and o'er Lakes,
His progress he takes,
With Mont-real full in his Eye.
The French wou'd, in vain,
Or Indians, restrain
His Troops who to Victory fly.

Cape Breton our own,
Gallia's Fishery's o'erthrown,
Chief Nursery of her Marine.
Invasion, that Joke,
Will thence end in Smoke,
And Britain still reign Ocean's Queen.

The Indians, and We,
Shall hence-forth agree,
Thus our Manufactures advance.
Our Foes, to their cost,
See Their rich Fur-Trade lost,
Great Blow to the Commerce of France.

Triumphant, with Pride,
O'er Ocean we ride;
Not a single Attempt now miscarries.
To our ravish'd Eyes,
Cressy, Agincourt rise,
And the Days of our Edwards & Harrys.

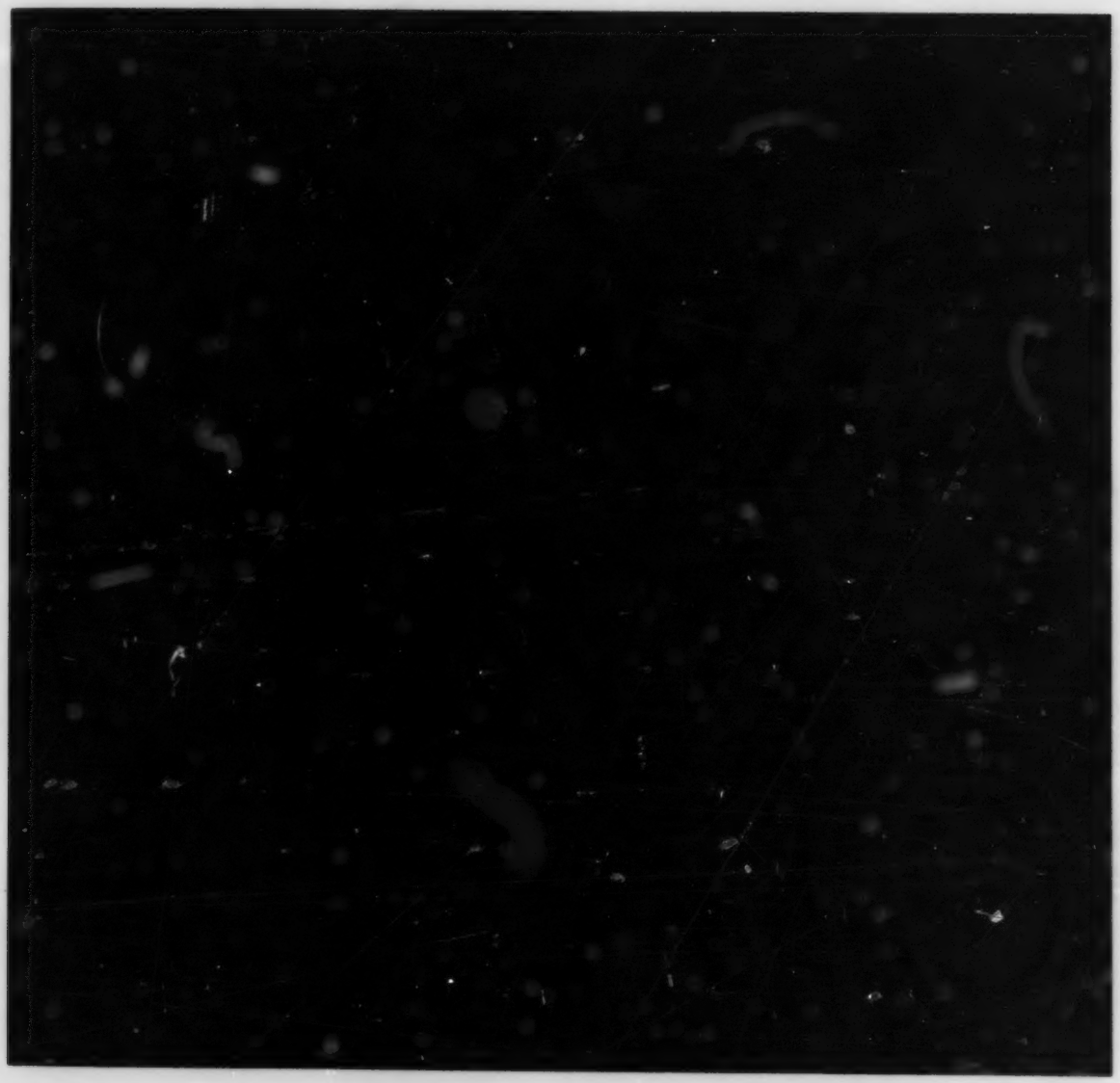
Just George! O for Thee
The Fates did decree,
A Reign will eternally shine.
The fam'd Conquests told,
In our Annals of old,
Are already equal'd in Thine.

O'erwhelm'd with sad Fears,
See Gallia, in Tears,
The Loss of Mont-real bemoan.
The French are undone;
And now Canada won,
Britannia shall there fix Her Throne.

But hark! Heav'n-born Peace,
Bids War's Horrors cease;
And lo! where the Goddess descends.
Her Charms all adore;
Human Blood streams no more:
And Foes, long contending, are Friends.

A Song. On the taking of Mont-Real by General Amherst. Composed by Worgan. Lyrics by Lockman. London, 1760. Broadside.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, MG 18, 05.



Top: Obverse of "Louisbourg Taken, 1758" medal. Struck in bronze, 1758. Diameter 44 mm.

Top left: Obverse of Boscawen medal. Struck in pinchbeck metal, 1758. Diameter 37 mm.

Bottom left: Reverse of "Montreal Taken, 1760" medal. Struck in bronze, 1760. Diameter 41 mm.

Centre: Reverse of Boscawen medal, inscribed "I Surrender Prisoner, 1758." Struck in bronze. Diameter 26 mm.

Top right: Reverse of "Quebec Taken, 1759" medal. Struck in bronze, 1759. Diameter 40 mm.

Bottom right: Reverse of "Canada Subdued, 1760" medal. Struck in bronze, 1760. Diameter 26 mm.

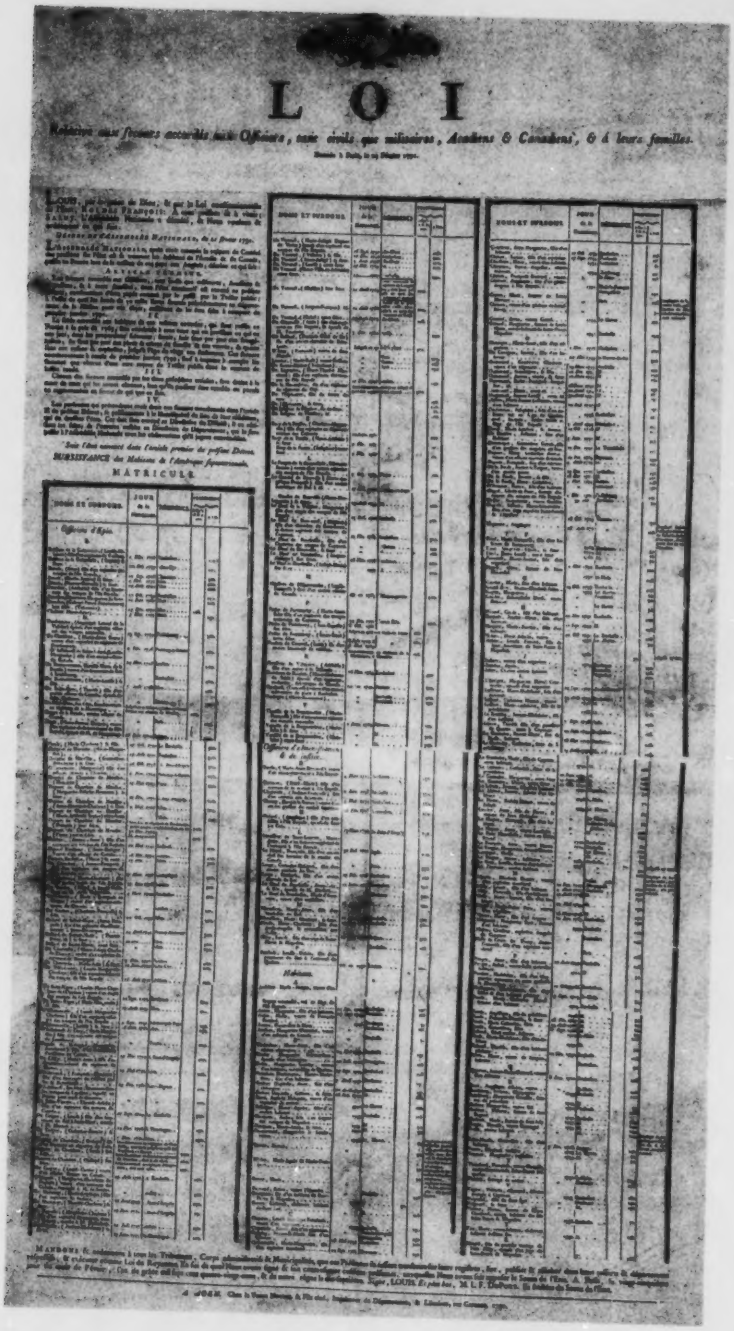
Bottom: Obverse of Montreal medal. Struck in pewter, 1760. Diameter 45 mm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division.

Some French and French-Canadians Leave

After the fall of New France, the British did not expel any former French subjects, but allowed those who wished to depart to do so. About four to five thousand (six to seven percent of the population) left, not enough to substantially alter the composition of French-Canadian society.

This French poster of 1791 enumerates the seigneurs, the civil and military officials, and their families — refugees and casualties of the Conquest — as well as Acadians expelled earlier from the Maritimes, who were then living in France and were eligible for French pensions.


LOI

Relative aux secours accordés aux Officiers, tant civils que militaires, Acadiens & Canadiens, & à leurs familles.

Loi Relative aux secours accordés aux Officiers, tant civils que militaires, Acadiens & Canadiens . . . . Agen: Chez la Veuve Noubel et Fils, 1791. Broadside.

National Archives of Canada: Library (Negative no. C-121417).

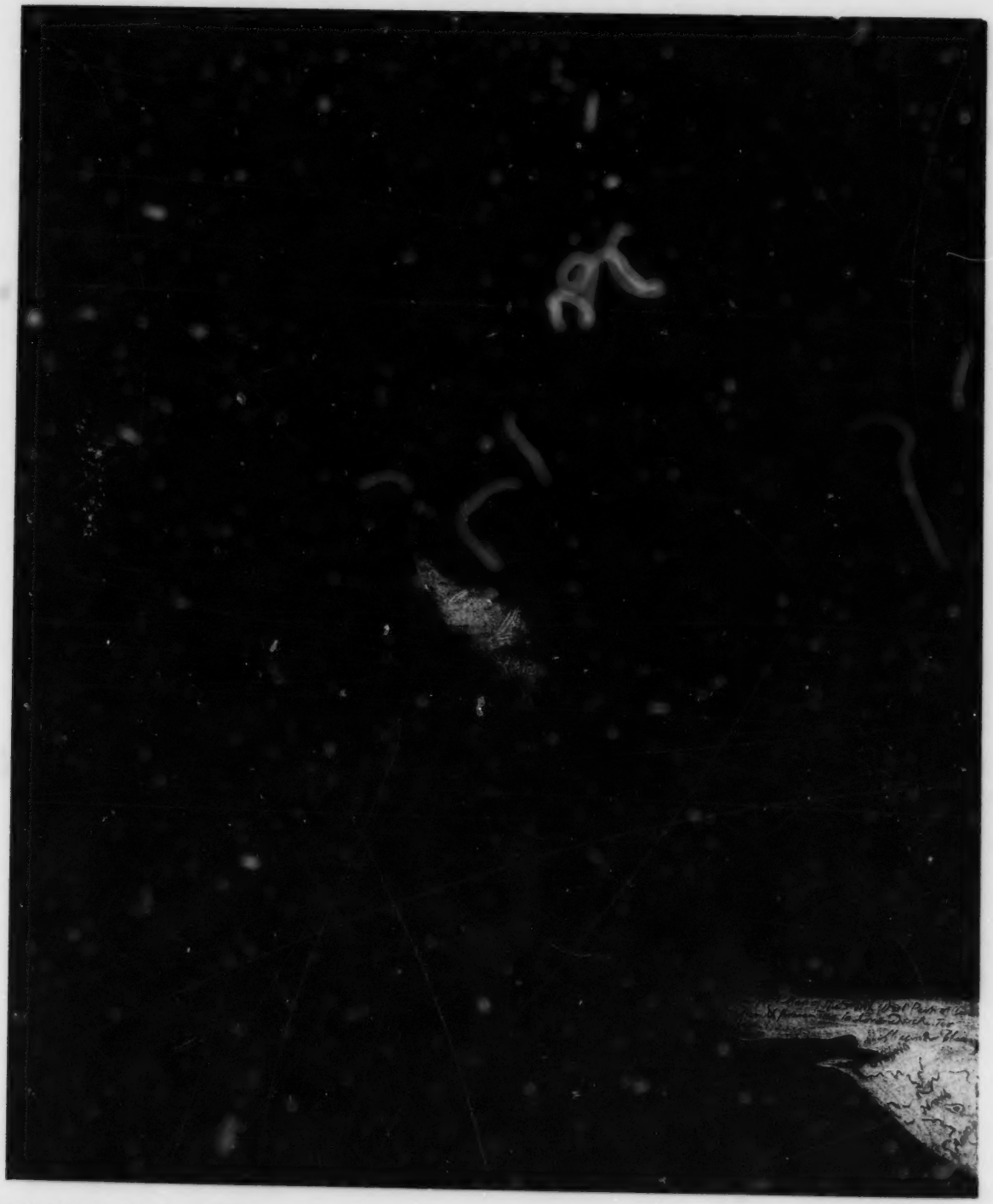
A Few British Come

At the Conquest and in the years thereafter, only a handful of British subjects, including American colonials, were drawn to Quebec, mainly by the prospects of trade.

Alexander Henry the Elder (1739–1824), a native of New Jersey, was one of the first to arrive: he accompanied the British army to Canada as a supplier. Taking advantage of the newly established British control, he almost immediately launched himself into the western fur trade. Having travelled and traded as far west as the Saskatchewan River, he retired in 1776 and spent the rest of his long life in Montreal as a merchant and Customs officer. A man of limited formal education, he had a vigorous intellect. His vivid memoir, *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories* (1809), is a classic of Canadian travel literature. The Archives holds an original of the first edition. He was a cartographer as well; the map shown in the portrait was presented by Henry to Sir Guy Carleton (later Lord Dorchester) in 1776 and is now in the Library of Congress. Considerable artistic liberties have been taken in the depiction of the map.

Henry and the other merchants like him were ambitious, aggressive men. Although a tiny minority in the colony, they agitated powerfully for English commercial law, for trial by jury and especially for a parliamentary system.

This early nineteenth-century portrait of Henry by an anonymous artist, although heavily inpainted at a later date, remains a powerful representation of a talented man and his class.



Portrait of Alexander Henry (1739–1824). Artist unknown. Oil on canvas, late eighteenth century. 73.8×61.1 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-103612).

The Proclamation of 1763: The British Set Out How They Will Govern Quebec

This proclamation of the British government declared:

— the Province of Quebec was to be reduced to a narrow parallelogram comprising only the settled areas along the St. Lawrence River;

— New France's rich fur trade hinterland in the West was to become an Indian preserve;

— British institutions were to be introduced, including representative government and British patterns of law and land ownership; and

— Roman Catholics were confirmed in their right to worship, but denied all political offices.

The proclamation was based on the false hope of a heavy influx of British immigrants into Quebec. Its provisions were never fully implemented. Governors stalled on the introduction of British institutions. Roman Catholics did hold office. Quebec's ties with the western fur trade remained strong.

The book illustrated here is a collection of capitulations and treaties, 1759–1783. Printed in Québec City in 1800, it is one of 50,000 rare books, broadsides and pamphlets held by the National Archives of Canada.

[26]

Moreover, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty cedes and guarantees to his ſaid Britannick Majeſty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the Iſland of Cape Breton, and all the other iſlands and coaſts in the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, and in general, every thing that depends on the ſaid countries, lands, iſlands and coaſts, with the ſovereignty, property, poſſeſſion, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwiſe, which the moſt Chriſtian King and the Crown of France have had, till now, over the ſaid countries, iſlands, lands, places, coaſts, and their inhabitants, ſo that the moſt Chriſtian King cedes and makes over the whole to the ſaid King, and to the crown of Great-Britain, and that in the moſt ample manner and form, without reſtriction, and without any liberty to depart from the ſaid guaranty, under any pretence, or to diſturb Great-Britain in the poſſeſſions above-mentioned.

His Britannick Majeſty, on his ſide, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will conſequently give the moſt effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic ſubjects may profeſs the worſhip of their religion, according to the rites of the Romiſh church, as far as the laws of Great-Britain permit.

His Britannick Majeſty further agrees, that the French inhabitants, or others, who had been the ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian King in Canada, may retire with all ſafety and freedom wherever they ſhall think proper, and may ſell their eſtates, provided it be to ſubjects of his Britannick Majeſty, and bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, without being reſtrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions; the term limited for this emigration, ſhall be fixed to the ſpace of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty.

By the King.

A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS We have taken into Our Royal conſideration the extenſive and valuable acquiſitions in America, ſecured to Our Crown by the late definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded at Paris, the tenth day of February laſt; and being deſirous that all our loving ſubjects, as well of our Kingdoms as of our Colonies in America, may avail themſelves, with all convenient ſpeed, of the great benefits and advantages which muſt accrue therefrom to their commerce, manufactures and navigation; We have thought fit, with the advice of our Privy Council, to iſſue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby to publiſh and declare to all our loving ſubjects, that We have, with the advice of our ſaid Privy Council, granted our Letters Patent under our Great Seal of Great Britain, to erect within the Countries and Iſlands, ceded and confirmed to Us by the ſaid Treaty, four diſtinct and ſeparate Governments, ſtiled and called by the names of QUEBEC, EAST FLORIDA, WEST FLORIDA and GRENADA, and bounded as follows, viz:

Firſtly.—The Government of *Quebec*, bounded on the *Labrador* Coaſt by the River

[27]

De plus, ſa Majeſté très Chrétienne céde et garantit à ſa dite Majeſté Britannique, en pleine droit, le Canada, avec toutes ſes dépendances, ainſi que l'Iſle de Cap Breton, et toutes les autres iſles et côtes dans le Golfe et le fleuve St. Laurent, et en général tout ce qui dépend des dits pais, terres, iſles et côtes, avec la ſouveraineté, propriété, poſſeſſion, et tous droits acquis par traité ou autrement, que le Roi très Chrétien et la couronne de France ont eu juſqu'à préſent ſur les dits pais, iſles, terres, places, côtes, et leurs habitans, de ſorte que le Roi très Chrétien cede et tranſporte le tout aux dits Roi et couronne de la Grande Bretagne, et cela de la manière et forme les plus amples, ſans reſtriction, et ſans pouvoir s'écarter de la dite garantie, ſous aucun prétexte, ou de pouvoir troubler la Grande Bretagne dans les poſſeſſions ſus mentionées.

Sa Majeſté Britannique, de ſon côté, conſent d'accorder la liberté de la religion catholique aux habitans du Canada. Elle donnera en conſéquence les ordres les plus effences, que ſes nouveaux ſujets Catholiques Romains puiſſent profeſſer le culte de leur religion ſelon les rites de l'Egliſe de Rome, autant que les loix d'Angleterre le permettent.

Sa Majeſté Britannique conſent de plus, que les habitans François ou autres, qui auroient été ſujets du Roi très Chrétien en Canada, puiſſent ſe retirer en toute ſureté et liberté, où ils jugeront à propos; qu'ils vendent leurs biens, pourvu que ce ſoit à des ſujets de ſa Majeſté Britannique; et qu'ils emportent leurs effets avec eux, ſans être reſtraints dans leur émigration, ſous aucun prétexte quelconque, à l'exception de celui des dettes ou de pourſuites criminelles; le terme limité pour cette émigration ſera fixé à l'eſpace de dix-huit mois, à compter du jour de l'échange de la ratification du préſent traité.

Par le Roi,

PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

ATTENDU que nous avons pris en notre conſidération Royale les acquiſitions étendues et importantes aſſurées à notre Couronne, dans l'Amérique, par le Traité définitif de Paix, conclu à Paris le dixième jour de Février dernier; et déſirant que tous nos aimés ſujets, tant de nos Royaumes que de nos Colonies en Amérique, puiſſent profiter, auſſitôt que poſſible, des grands avantages qui doivent en réſulter pour leur commerce, leurs manufactures et la navigation, nous avons jugé à propos, de l'avis de notre Conſeil privé, d'émaner notre préſente Proclamation Royale, par laquelle nous publions et déclarons à tous nos aimés ſujets, que, de l'avis de notre dit Conſeil Privé, nous avons accordé nos Lettres Patentes, ſous notre grand Sceau de la Grande Bretagne, pour ériger dans les pays et Iſles à nous cédés et confirmés par le dit Traité, quatre Gouvernements diſtincts et ſéparés, connus et appellés par les noms de QUEBEC, FLORIDA-ORIENTALE, FLORIDA-SEPTENTRIONALE et la GRANADE, et bornés et bornés comme ſuit, ſavoir:

Premierement, le Gouvernement de *Quebec*, borné ſur la côte de *Labrador* par la riviere

Capitulations and extracts of treaties relating to Canada: with His Majesty's Proclamation of 1763 . . . ./ Capitulations et extraits des traités concernant le Canada; avec la Proclamation de sa Majesté, de 1763 . . . Québec: P.E. Desbarats, 1800, pp. 26–27.

National Archives of Canada: Library (Negative no. C-130523).

The Church Faces a Crisis

Damage to its buildings was only one of the many problems facing the Roman Catholic Church after the Conquest. Under the colony's new Protestant rulers, the Church did not exist legally. The effects were evident everywhere: foreign recruitment of priests was virtually cut off, leaving the number in Quebec woefully inadequate; Church-controlled education lost its state support; it was even in question whether the appointment of a new Bishop of Quebec would be allowed. An attitude of conciliation on both sides allowed for resolution of most controversies, and although it remained weak and short of priests well into the nineteenth century, the Church survived.

The view, again by Richard Short, shows the interior of the Recollet Church seen in Item 10. It is the only visual record of the interior of that church and gives a valuable impression of the general decor of parish churches in Quebec under the French Regime.

A View of the Inside of the Recollet Friars Church. Richard Short (fl. 1754–1766). Etching by C. Crignion. London: Thomas Jefferys, 1761. Engraving. 62.8 × 44.3 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-353).

Life Goes On

In some ways what was most remarkable about the Conquest was how little immediate effect it had on most inhabitants of Quebec. Most Canadians stayed. Few British came. Many French institutions and customs continued, while the economy produced the same products in the same manner.

This idyllic view representing the Seigneury of Berthier approximately twenty years after the Conquest suggests the continuity of traditional Canadian society — except that the bridge in the background was constructed by the British army for defensive supply. Things were the same — but different.

The artist of this view, James Peachey (fl. 1773–1797), was, like Richard Short, associated with the military. A draughtsman, surveyor and army officer, he was one of the most prolific and significant artists of the period. The National Archives of Canada holds the largest extant group of his works: forty-two watercolours, etchings and aquatints.

A View of the Bridge Built Over the Berthier River in 1781. James Peachey (fl. 1773–1797). Watercolour, 1785. 32.1×48.9 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-45559).

The British Revise the Rules: The Quebec Act of 1774

The Quebec Act was an attempt to provide Quebec with a government suited to its needs. One of its major provisions was a continuation of freedom of worship for Roman Catholics. Their payment of tithes to their church was made enforceable by law. The Act also restored the core of the old French western fur empire to Quebec.

This cartoon is a satirical comment on the religious implications of the Act. Four Anglican bishops directed by British political figures dance around the bill. A devil flies above, implying the source of inspiration for the bill. The cartoon, which appeared in the *London Magazine* of July 1774, is by an unidentified artist and is an early example from the Archives' collection of more than 10,000 satirical drawings and cartoons from the early eighteenth century to the present.

The increasingly rebellious colonies to the south were distressed that the Act cut off their access to the inland west and saw in it proof that the British were planning to force Quebec's mode of government and established Church on all Americans. The Quebec Act thus became one of the causes of the coming American Revolution.

According to other clauses of the Act:

— English criminal law was formally established, but the "Laws and Customs of Canada" were retained in civil law;
— the seigneurial system of land tenure was permitted to continue; and
— the colony was to be administered by a governor and appointed council rather than by an elected assembly.

The Mitred Minuet. Artist unknown.
Hand-coloured engraving.
10.7 × 17.2 cm.
In *London Magazine*, July 1774.

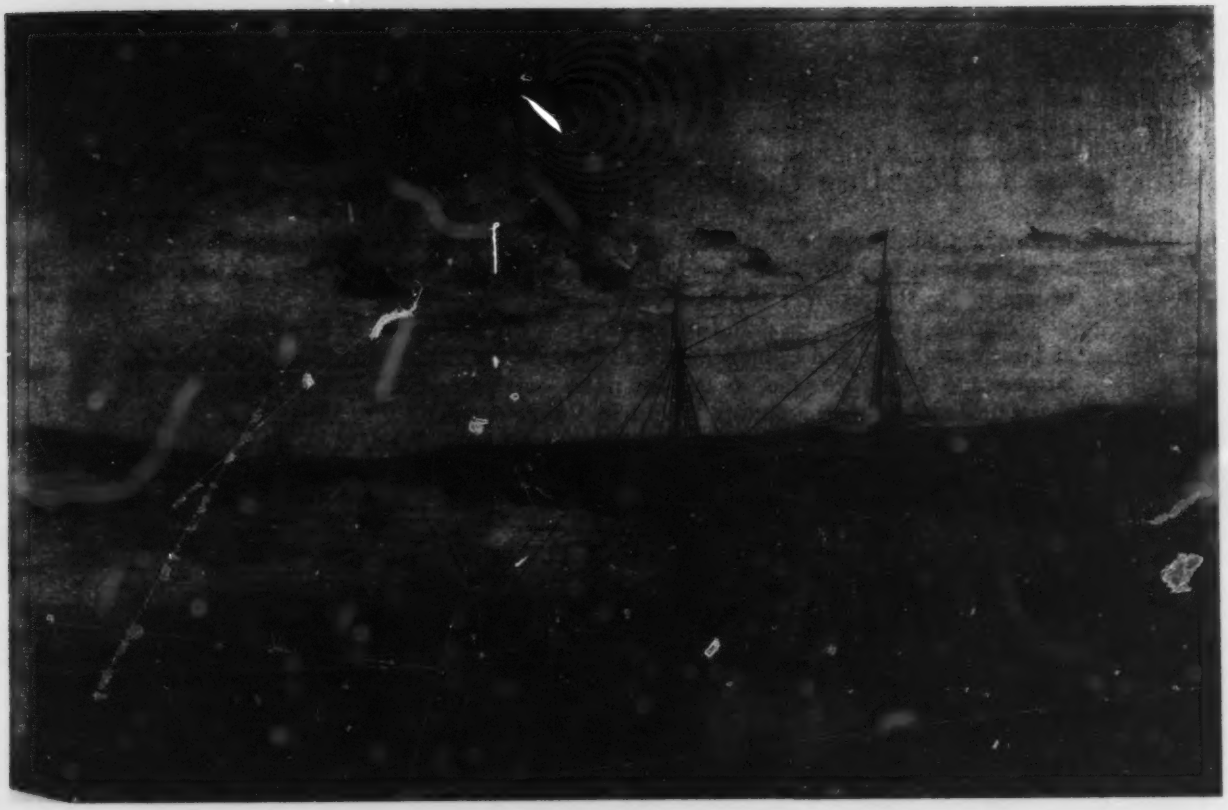
National Archives of Canada:
Documentary Art and Photography
Division (Negative no. C-38989).

Newfoundland: Britain's Greatest Ship, circa 1800

Newfoundland was viewed by the British government as a "great English ship Moored near the Banks" for the purpose of carrying on the fisheries. Permanent settlement was officially forbidden. The thinking was that Newfoundland should be a "nursery" for seamen who could be readily pressed into the navy if need be in time of war. In fact, the island had about 15,000 permanent residents in the 1770s, seven-eighths of whom lived along the coast of the peninsula between Trinity and Placentia Bays on the eastern tip of the island. Tensions between fact and official policy led to conflict.

In this anonymous watercolour, men can be seen emptying a net into a dory. On a fishing stage with a schooner anchored by it, cod are being set out. The two large containers on the stage, called "moutons," were used to press excess oil and salt out of the fish before it was dried in the sun.

Perhaps the most important feature of this view is the town itself, seen in the background. St. John's has always been the most important centre in Newfoundland because of its proximity to the fishing grounds. Like many others in the Archives' collection, this scene can be used to identify buildings and their exact construction, streetscapes, and many other details not available from any other documentary source.



A View of the Upper End of the Harbour, St. John's, Newfoundland. Artist unknown. Watercolour, late eighteenth century. 33.6×52.1 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-3372).

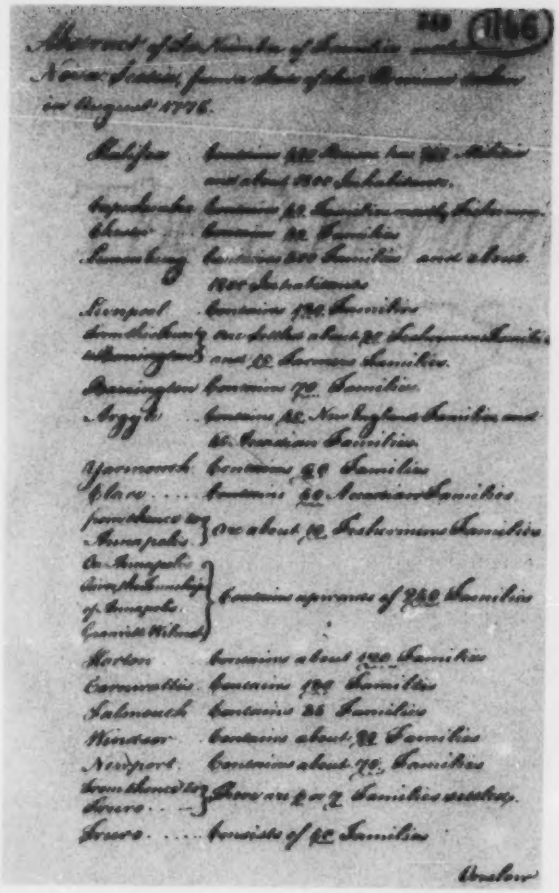
Peopling the Maritimes: A Census of 1775

After the Conquest, the British authorities hoped to attract a substantial English-speaking population to Nova Scotia (which then included New Brunswick). This list of families in the province reveals their failure.

Halifax was the capital and major centre. Germans had been previously settled at Lunenburg. The end of French control brought an influx of 7,000 New England farmers and fishermen who, as the list notes, settled primarily along the coasts of the southern half of the peninsula and in the Annapolis Valley. More than 1,000 Yorkshiremen and many families from the north of Ireland settled on the Chignecto Isthmus. A few Scots, the beginning of a later influx, came to Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. (They are not included in this list.) Very limited settlements up the Saint John River Valley and on Passamaquoddy Bay in present-day New Brunswick are listed. Some of the French Acadians, who had been expelled by the British in 1755, returned, and pockets of them appear on the list. There was a total population of 17,000 to 20,000 in the colony, half of which was from New England. On the Island of St. John (Prince Edward Island) there was a population of only 1,300, largely immigrant Scots.

In the next decade, refugees fleeing the American Revolution would almost triple the existing population of the Maritimes.

William Legge, second Earl of Dartmouth (1731–1801), was the recipient of this census. As President of the Board of Trade (1765–1766) and Secretary of State for the American Department (1772–1775), he was heavily involved in North American affairs. Virtually all his papers relating to Canada were presented by his British descendants to the National Archives in 1926.



Abstract of the Number of Families in Nova Scotia, from a Survey of the Province taken in August 1775.

Halifax	Contains 1300 Protestant Families and 1500 Inhabitants.
Lunenburg	Contains 200 Families and about 1000 Inhabitants
Liverpool	Contains 170 Families
Annapolis, Granville, Wilmington	Contains about 80 Inhabitants Families and 40 Acadian Families.
Cumberland	Contains 170 Families
Sackville	Contains 80 New England Families and 60 Acadian Families
Yarmouth	Contains 60 Families
Clare	Contains 60 Acadian Families
Annapolis, Annapolis River	One about 50 Inhabitants Families
Annapolis, Annapolis River, Annapolis County, Granville Village	Contains upwards of 280 Families
Horton	Contains about 1200 Families
Cornwallis	Contains 1300 Families
Falmouth	Contains 26 Families
Windsor	Contains about 90 Families
Newport	Contains about 70 Families
Onslow	There are 40 or 50 Families settling.
Truro	Consists of 80 Families

Onslow

350

Onslow	Contains upwards 60 Families, who are now resettling 30.
Londonderry	Contains 100 North of the above Families
On the North of Cobequid	There are about a settlement to the Westward of about 20 Families
County of Cumberland	Contains 700 Families from the New England Governments principally Rhode Island, and the North of England, and also 80 Scotch and Irish Families. Note this County includes the Townships of Cumberland, Amherst, Sackville, and several separate Grants.
Bay Verte	There are about 10 Families of Fishermen
N. Annapolis	Contains 60 Acadian Families.
Shepody, Hillsborough, Mouat &c.	In these Townships are about 80 Families the Whites of which are Acadians
Maugerville	Contains 80 Families
Jemsequeg	Contains about 20 Fishing Families.
Petitcodiac	There are a few settlers placed there by Mr. Desbarres.
Pictou	Contains 40 Families
Lunenburg Town	There remain about 60 Families.

351

Note — By this Estimate there are specified 2,088 Families in this Province allowing one to each Family, as in the case in Lunenburg, the number of Inhabitants is 14,928.

By a Return from the Secretary's Office in the year 1773. I find them amounting to 17,752. —

"Abstract of the Number of Families settled in Nova Scotia . . . August 1775."

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Dartmouth papers, MG 23, A 1, vol. 1, pp. 349–351.

III

The American Revolution, 1775–1783

The American Revolution was often not so much a revolt against a distant king as a brutal civil war between those who supported the Crown and those who did not. Many had no strong reason to support the Revolution. Others, both in the Thirteen Colonies and in the colonies to the north, either rejected revolution or saw it as too radical a solution to existing problems.

Quebec suffered direct invasion by the rebels in 1775. The Maritimes provided an important British base for operations against the colonies in revolt. The most significant result of the Revolution for the northern colonies was the influx of Loyalist refugees — continuing supporters of the Crown — who provided the core of their non-French-speaking population.

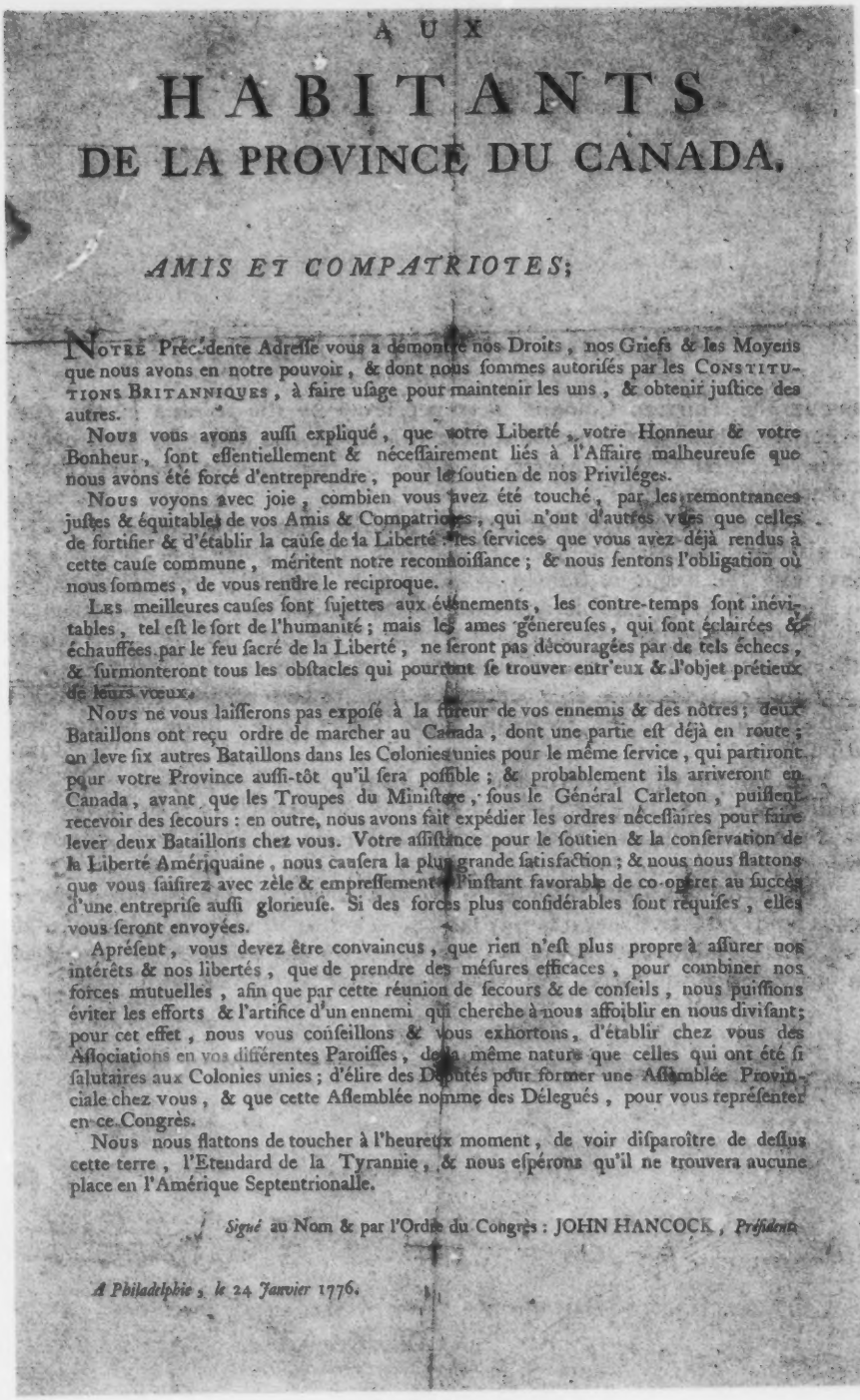
III

The Rebel Appeal to French Canada, 1776

Signed by John Hancock as the President of the Second Continental Congress, this broadside announces the rebel march against Montreal and Québec in 1775–1776 and urges the Canadians to form a provincial congress to support the Revolution.

Those in Quebec to whom the American revolutionary ideals might have appealed, however, lacked leadership. The seigneurs and the Church supported the Crown. Many others, seeing no reason to involve themselves in the quarrel, maintained a pragmatic neutrality.

One of the printers of the broadside (a single sheet, printed on one side only), the Frenchman Fleury Mesplet (1734–1794), followed the American forces to Montreal. Ironically, he stayed on after their retreat to become the first printer west of Québec City. He produced eighty titles, including two periodicals, and printed in four languages: English, French, Latin and Mohawk. He published the first entirely French newspaper in Quebec and inaugurated the *Montreal Gazette/La Gazette de Montréal* (which still exists today as the *Gazette*).



AUX

HABITANTS
DE LA PROVINCE DU CANADA.

AMIS ET COMPATRIOTES;

NOTRE Précédente Adreſſe vous a démontré nos Droits, nos Griefs & les Moyens que nous avons en notre pouvoir, & dont nous ſommes autoriſés par les CONSTITUTIONS BRITANNIQUES, à faire uſage pour maintenir les uns, & obtenir juſtice des autres.

NOUS vous avons auſſi expliqué, que votre Liberté, votre Honneur & votre Bonheur, ſont eſſentiellement & néceſſairement liés à l'Affaire malheureuſe que nous avons été forcé d'entreprendre, pour le ſoutien de nos Priviléges.

NOUS voyons avec joie, combien vous avez été touché, par les remontrances juſtes & équitables de vos Amis & Compatriotes, qui n'ont d'autres vûes que celles de fortifier & d'établir la cauſe de la Liberté. Les ſervices que vous avez déjà rendus à cette cauſe commune, méritent notre reconnoiſſance; & nous ſentons l'obligation où nous ſommes, de vous rendre le reciproque.

LES meilleures cauſes ſont ſujettes aux évènements, les contre-temps ſont inévitables, tel eſt le ſort de l'humanité; mais les ames généreuſes, qui ſont éclairées & échauffées par le feu ſacré de la Liberté, ne ſeront pas découragées par de tels échecs, & ſurmonteront tous les obſtacles qui pourroient ſe trouver entr'eux & l'objet précieux de leurs vœux.

NOUS ne vous laiſſerons pas expoſé à la fureur de vos ennemis & des nôtres; deux Bataillons ont reçu ordre de marcher au Canada, dont une partie eſt déjà en route; on leve ſix autres Bataillons dans les Colonies unies pour le même ſervice, qui partiront pour votre Province auſſi-tôt qu'il ſera poſſible; & probablement ils arriveront en Canada, avant que les Troupes du Miniſtere, ſous le Général Carleton, puiſſent recevoir des ſecours: en outre, nous avons fait expédier les ordres néceſſaires pour faire lever deux Bataillons chez vous. Votre aſſiſtance pour le ſoutien & la conſervation de la Liberté Amériquaine, nous cauſera la plus grande ſatisfaction; & nous nous flattons que vous ſaiſirez avec zèle & empreſſement l'inſtant favorable de co-opérer au ſuccès d'une entrepriſe auſſi glorieuſe. Si des forces plus conſidérables ſont requiſes, elles vous ſeront envoyées.

APRÉSENT, vous devez être convaincus, que rien n'eſt plus propre à aſſurer nos intérêts & nos libertés, que de prendre des méſures efficaces, pour combiner nos forces mutuelles, afin que par cette réunion de ſecours & de conſeils, nous puiſſions éviter les efforts & l'artifice d'un ennemi qui cherche à nous affoiblir en nous diviſant; pour cet effet, nous vous conſeillons & vous exhortons, d'établir chez vous des Aſſociations en vos différentes Paroiſſes, de la même nature que celles qui ont été ſi ſalutaires aux Colonies unies; d'élire des Députés pour former une Aſſemblée Provinciale chez vous, & que cette Aſſemblée nomme des Délegués, pour vous repréſenter en ce Congrès.

NOUS nous flattons de toucher à l'heureux moment, de voir diſparoître de deſſus cette terre, l'Etendard de la Tyrannie, & nous eſpérons qu'il ne trouvera aucune place en l'Amérique Septentrionalle.

Signé au Nom & par l'Ordre du Congrès: JOHN HANCOCK, *Préſident.*

A Philadelphie, le 24 Janvier 1776.

Aux Habitants de la Province du Canada.
John Hancock. Philadelphia: Fleury Mesplet and Charles Berger, 1776.
Broadside.

National Archives of Canada: Library (Negative no. C-111468).

III

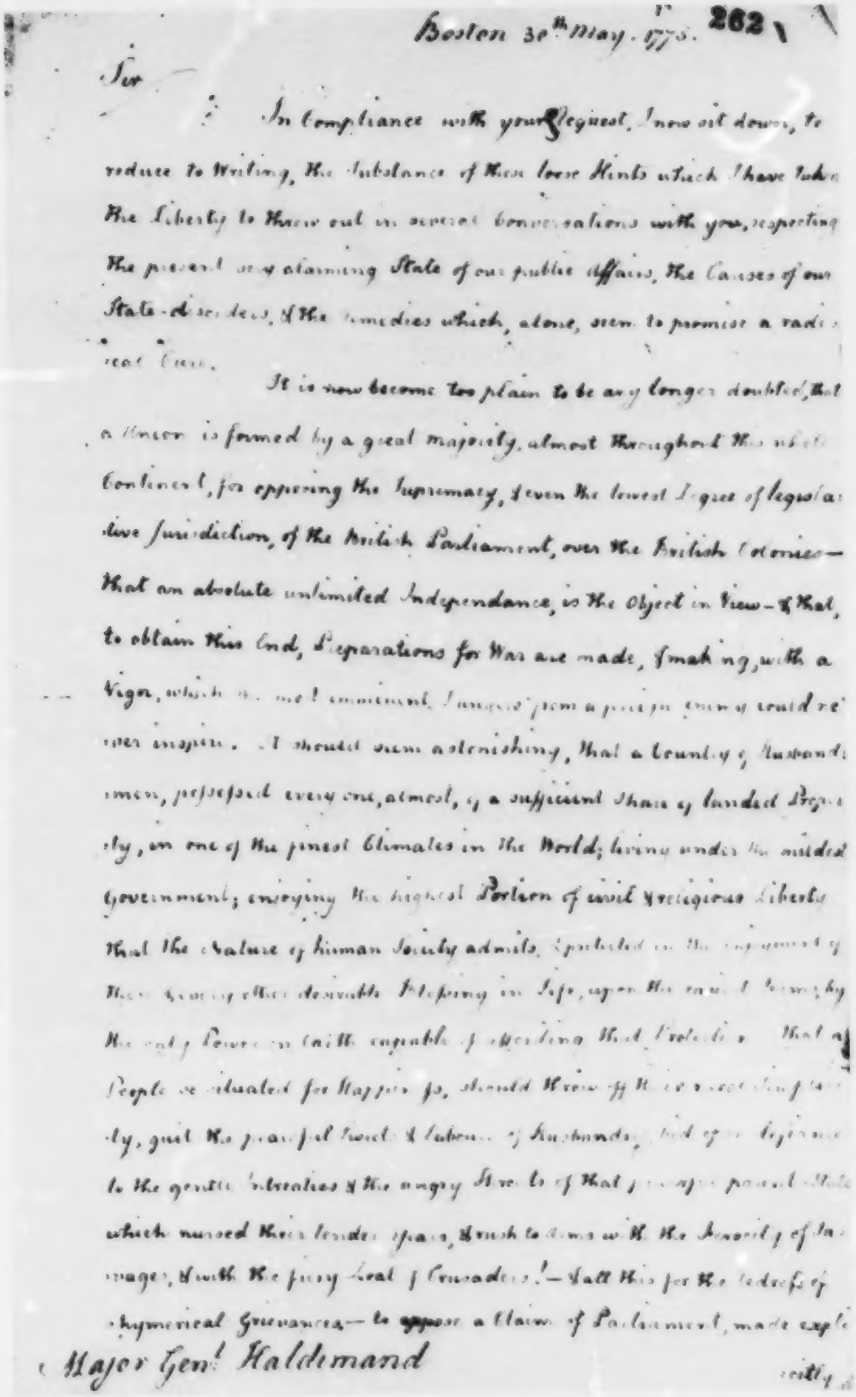
A Loyalist Speaks His Mind, 1775

Many in the Thirteen Colonies were perplexed by the coming of the American Revolution. There is a sense of sincere dismay in this letter by Jonathan Sewell, Attorney-General of Massachusetts. Sewell wrote from Boston, the very centre of the Revolutionary movement.

Sewell was astonished that citizens who lived in one of the most fertile and expansive lands on earth — who enjoyed "the highest portion of civil and religious liberty that the nature of human society admits" and who were protected "by the only Power on Earth capable of affording that protection" — should "rush to arms with the ferocity of savages and with the fiery Zeal of Crusaders!" He believed that the Revolution was a scheme of ambitious and designing men working their wiles on a credulous population. His contention that armed rebellion was an over-reaction to the situation was shared by many. Some fled to Canada during or after the Revolution.

Jonathan Sewell, Sr., first fled to England in 1775, and then in 1778 settled at Halifax where he became Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. His correspondent, Major-General Frederick Haldimand, became Governor of Quebec in 1777.

This letter is a draft retained in the Sewell papers. The National Archives of Canada holds extensive Sewell family papers, as well as hand transcripts and microfilm copies of the Haldimand papers, a basic source for the study of the American Revolutionary period in Quebec and what would later become Ontario.



Boston 30th May. 1775. 262

Sir

In Compliance with your Request, I now sit down, to reduce to Writing, the Substance of those loose Hints which I have taken the Liberty to throw out in several Conversations with you, respecting the present very alarming State of our public Affairs, the Causes of our State-disorders, & the Remedies which, alone, seem to promise a radical Cure.

It is now become too plain to be any longer doubted, that a Union is formed by a great majority, almost throughout the whole Continent, for opposing the Supremacy, (even the lowest Degree of legislative Jurisdiction, of the British Parliament, over the British Colonies— That an absolute unlimited Independance, is the Object in View— & That, to obtain this End, Preparations for War are made, (making, with a Vigor, which the most imminent Dangers from a foreign Enemy could never inspire. It should seem astonishing, That a Country of Husbandmen, possessed every one, almost, of a sufficient Share of landed Property, in one of the finest Climates in the World; living under the mildest Government; enjoying the highest Portion of civil & religious Liberty that the Nature of human Society admits; protected in the Enjoyment of those (among other desirable Blessings in Life, upon the easiest Terms, by the only Power on Earth capable of affording that Protection; That a People so situated for Happiness, should throw off their present tranquil Felicity, quit the peaceful Tools & Labours of Husbandry, bid adieu to their Attachments to the gentle Intreaties & the angry Storms of that (once respected) Element which nursed their tender Years, & rush to Arms with the Ferocity of Savages, & with the fiery Zeal of Crusaders!— All this for the Redress of Chymerical Grievances— to oppose a Claim of Parliament, made explicitly

Major Genl Haldimand

Letter, Jonathan Sewell to Major-General Frederick Haldimand, Boston, 30 May 1775.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Sewell papers, MG 23, G II 10, vol. 2, p. 262.

The Americans Attack: Montgomery's Campaign to Montreal, 1775

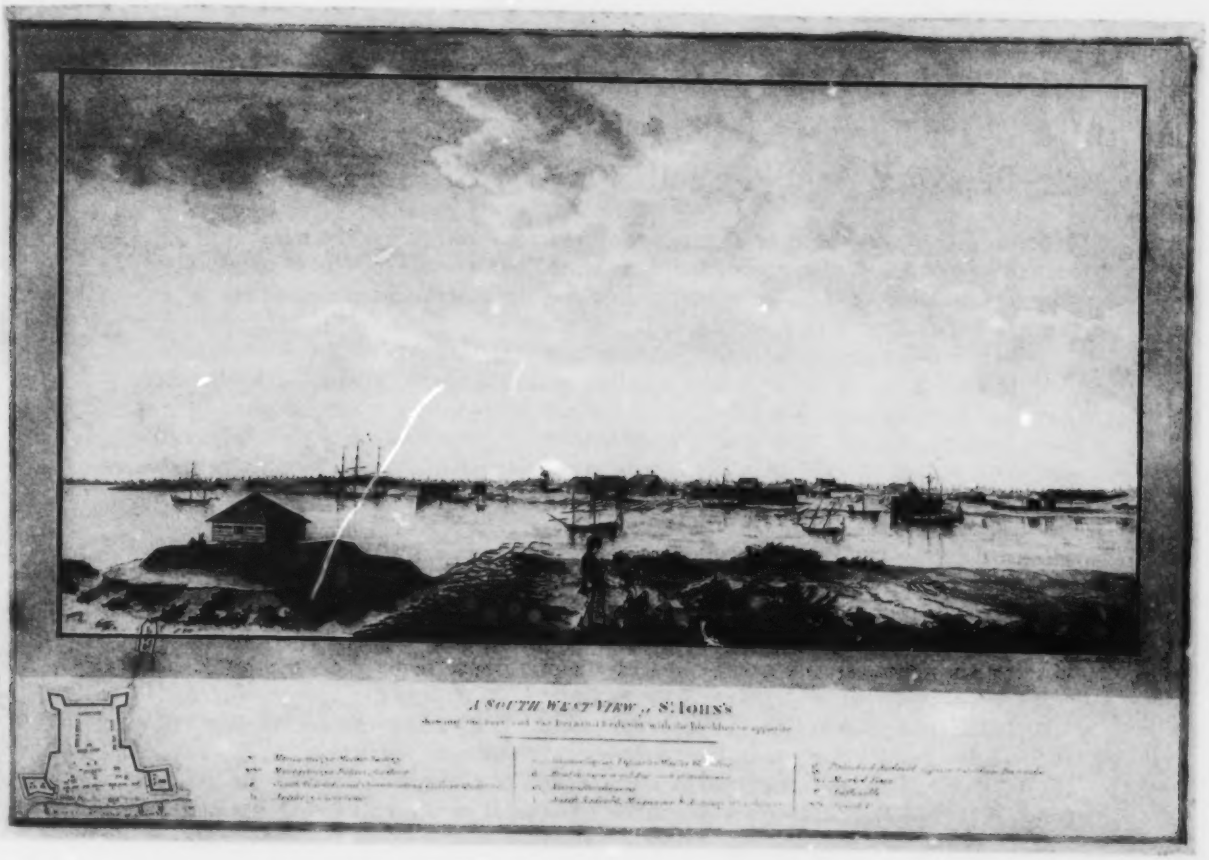
This view of the British Fort St. Jean on the Richelieu River, painted in 1779, shows the fort very much as it was when the American General Richard Montgomery (1736–1775) laid siege to it in September 1775. The positions of his artillery are ingeniously marked with bird symbols. A small map in the lower left corner explains the alphabetic notations.

Montgomery led the American forces northward down the Lake Champlain-Richelieu River route towards Montreal to capture Canada for the Revolutionary cause, seizing Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Fort Chambly as he advanced. When Fort St. Jean capitulated in early November, the British abandoned Montreal to Montgomery and retreated to Québec City. It seemed that the rebels were on the verge of success.

The two warships (also marked by birds), the *Royal George* and the *Inflexible*, were prominent against the American fleet in the Battle of Valcour Island (Lake Champlain) in 1777.

Fort St. Jean was again in British hands by 1776, and throughout much of the war it was a base for Loyalists, who used it for recruiting, surveillance, and rescue missions south into the rebel colonies. Loyalist units, notably the King's Royal Regiment of New York, also conducted continuing military operations from the fort.

The artist of this view, James Hunter (fl. 1776–1792), was a British military engineer and artillery officer. Army records indicate he was probably involved in construction at St. Jean in 1779 and knew the fort intimately. Military artists often copied each other's views. The Archives also holds a version of this view by James Peachey.



A South-West View of Fort St. Jean, Quebec, with Plan. James Hunter (fl. 1776–1792). Watercolour, 1779. 41.9 × 60.6 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-1507).

Benedict Arnold Shells Québec City, 1775–1776

Jefferys' map shows the American artillery positions, indicating the number of guns and the deployment of General Benedict Arnold's troops on the Plains of Abraham. The fortifications of the city are delineated and the places where Arnold and Montgomery began their attack are marked.

While Montgomery advanced towards Montreal, Arnold (1742–1801) managed, despite hardships, to bring seven hundred men via the Kennebec and Chaudière Rivers to Québec City. Montgomery joined him with another three hundred men in early December 1775, and during a snowstorm on New Year's Eve they launched a desperate attack against the city. Arnold was driven back, while Montgomery and his leading officers were killed. The remaining besiegers were routed when the spring thaw allowed British reinforcements up the St. Lawrence. The rebels abandoned Montreal on 9 May. Quebec had repulsed the rebel onslaught.

Like the Arrowsmith firm, that of Thomas Jefferys (circa 1710–1771) was a pioneer in British map publishing concerning North America. Great Britain in this period did not have an official map or chart publishing office, and it was in the government's interest to support cartographic publishing firms of demonstrated competence such as that of Jefferys. Jefferys from 1761 had been "Geographer to the King," and his firm was thus in a favoured position to benefit from official information such as that being collected in North America by military engineers. William Faden (1750–1836), Jefferys' junior partner, succeeded to control of the firm on Jefferys' death in 1771, and became an even more influential cartographer than his master.

Plan of the City and Environs of Quebec with its seige and blockade by the Americans from the 8th of December 1775 to the 13th of May 1776. Engraved by William Faden (1750–1836). London: William Faden, 1776. Plan: hand-coloured, engraved, 44.1 × 61.4 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Cartographic and Architectural Archives Division (NMC 55019).

Halifax: Guardian of the North, 1781

Throughout the Revolutionary War, Halifax was a major harbour, supply centre and base for forces loyal to the King. As befitted a major base, it bristled with fortifications. By the war's end, the city had fourteen forts, barracks and blockhouses in and about the town proper, accommodating 2,800 troops.

This view was taken from one of the numerous small posts on Point Pleasant. Citadel Hill can be seen in the distance, crowned with a large octagonal blockhouse constructed at the beginning of the war, and a maze of trenches and earthworks. Below them is Fort Massey with its blockhouse, erected between 1776 and 1778.

A stream of military transports crossing the Atlantic touched at Halifax for orders and supplies before turning south. The British fleet came in at intervals. The little town was bursting at the seams. As the print shows, a tent city covered the slopes of Citadel Hill and spread out beyond.

A strong military presence and the activity of the British fleet helped discourage colonists in Nova Scotia who might have considered supporting the Revolution. From 1776, when British troops and Loyalists from Boston were evacuated to Halifax, the city attracted a growing refugee community. As the war wound down, this stream of refugees into Nova Scotia became a torrent.

The artist, Edward Hicks (fl. 1778–1782), was an officer of the 70th Regiment, stationed in Halifax in 1778. He executed sketches on which a series of four prints of Halifax were based. The prints are now extremely rare. The National Archives holds all four prints and a watercolour by Hicks.

"South aspect of Halifax Nova Scotia... in 1780...." Edward Hicks (fl. 1778–1782). London, 1781. Hand-coloured aquatint. 53.4 × 31.2 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-11214).

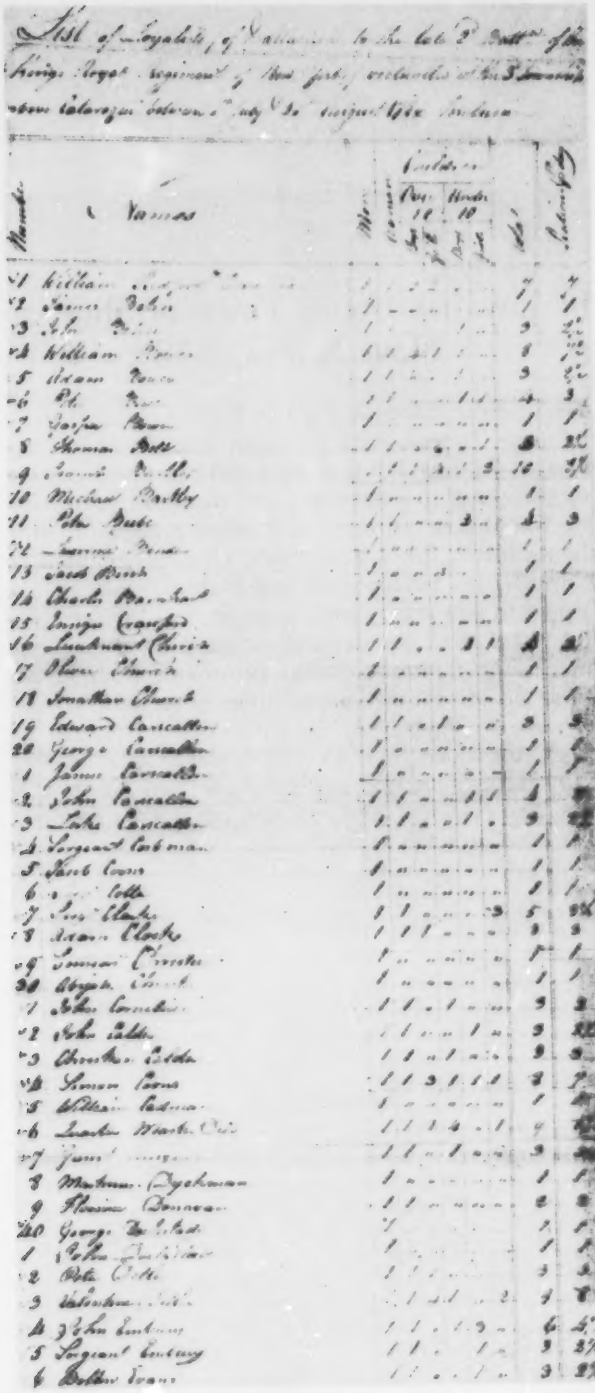
The Loyalists Come: A Loyalist Provisioning List, 1786

The Loyalists enumerated in this list were part of the King's Royal Regiment of New York, which had fought with great success on the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania (see also Item 22). They were being settled on the Bay of Quinte, Lake Ontario, near present-day Kingston, Ontario.

Resettlement was a tedious process and the government, as this list indicates, had to supply food to the Loyalists for some time before they could survive on their own crops.

The British government treated the Loyalists who came north extremely well, providing them with food, clothing, tools, seed, shelter, land and recompense for their war losses. It ultimately spent more than £30 million on the Loyalists.

The National Archives holds more than twenty original Loyalist provisioning lists for Upper Canada and several more for the Maritimes.



List of Loyalists of and attached to the Second Battalion of the Kings Royal Regiment of New York Victualled at the third township above Cataraqui between 1 July and 31 August 1786 (detail). George Singleton.

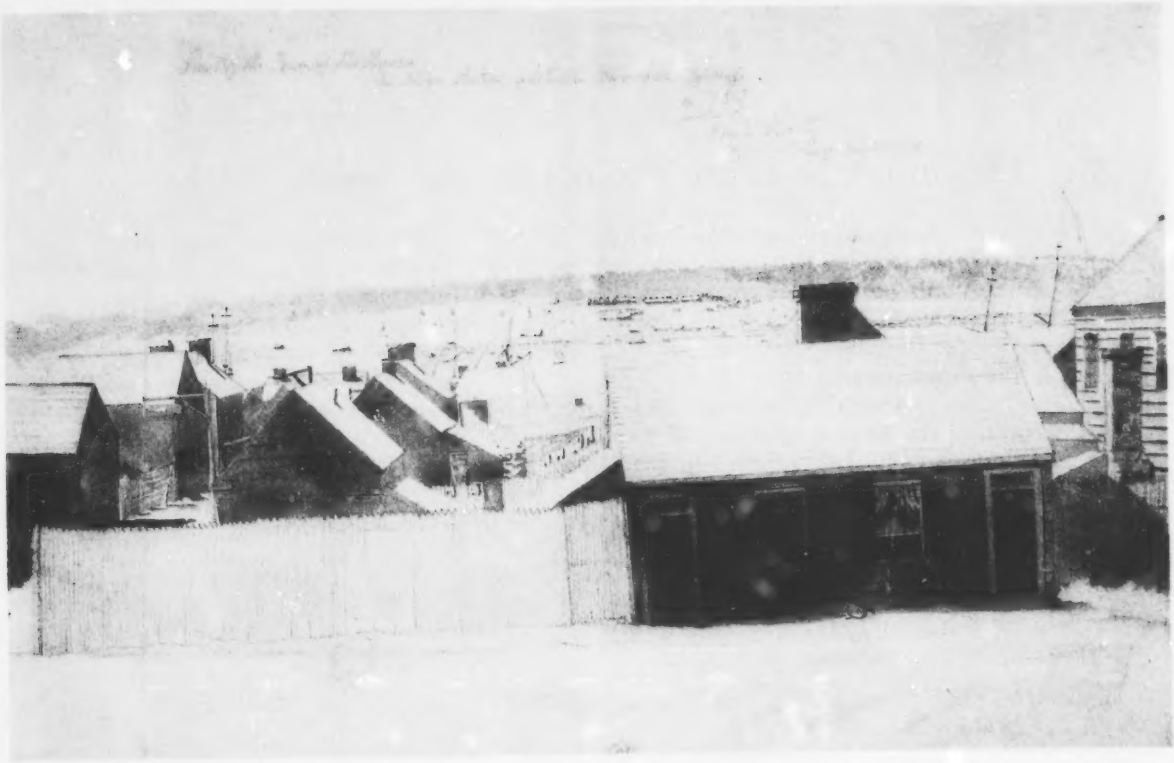
National Archives of Canada: Government Archives Division, Records of the Department of Finance, RG 19, E 4, vol. 4447, file 1, part 1, parcel 1, #4.

The Loyalist Boom Town of Shelburne, Nova Scotia, 1789

The framed houses and the masts of ships in Booth's 1789 sketch suggest the early prosperity of Shelburne. Indeed, with the Saint John River Valley, New Brunswick, it was the major area for first Loyalist settlement in the Maritimes. In only three years, it grew from nothing to a town of eight thousand inhabitants, complete with the amenities one would have expected of a major settlement: fine houses, taverns, a jeweller, a dancing instructor, a hairdresser, churches, schools, three newspapers, sawmills and shipyards. It threatened to rival Halifax.

The town's growth was short-lived, however; by the late 1780s, it had entered a sharp decline, and by 1815 the population was a mere six hundred. Its soil and timber were poor, inland communications primitive, whaling and fisheries disappointing. Although the town disappeared, most of its inhabitants settled elsewhere in the Maritimes.

William Booth, the artist (fl. 1785–1788), was a captain in the Royal Engineers. While stationed in Halifax, he travelled extensively in Nova Scotia, executing watercolour sketches. The National Archives also holds a watercolour sketch by Booth of a black Loyalist cutting wood at Shelburne.



Part of the Town of Shelburne, Nova Scotia, with the Barracks Opposite. William Booth (fl. 1785–1788). Pencil with wash, 1789. 29.2 × 54.6 cm.

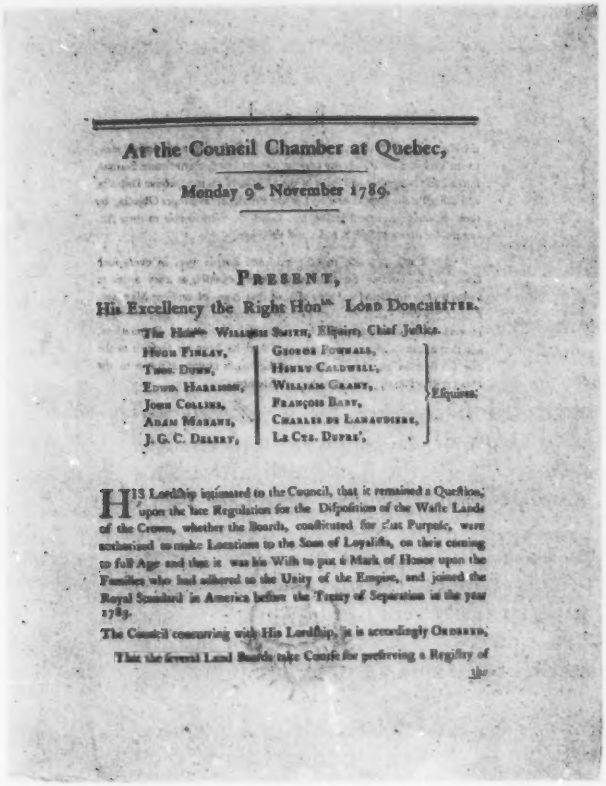
National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-10548).

III

Origin of the Term "United Empire Loyalist," 1789

In 1789, Lord Dorchester, the Governor-in-Chief of British North America, proclaimed that the Loyalists and their children should be allowed to append "UE" to their names, "alluding to their great principle, the Unity of the Empire," hence the phrase "United Empire Loyalist," or UEL. The term originally applied to Quebec and Upper Canada (Ontario) alone; it was officially recognized in the Maritimes only in the twentieth century.

This Quebec document of 1789 is an order-in-council — or official decree — requiring the Land Boards, which assigned land to new settlers, to keep a registry of persons "who had adhered to the Unity of Empire." It had been reprinted in pamphlet form from the minutes of the Legislative Council for wider distribution to officials concerned in Quebec and what was soon to be Upper Canada.



At the Council Chamber at Quebec,

Monday 9th November 1789.

PRESENT,

His Excellency the Right Hon^ble^ LORD DORCHESTER.

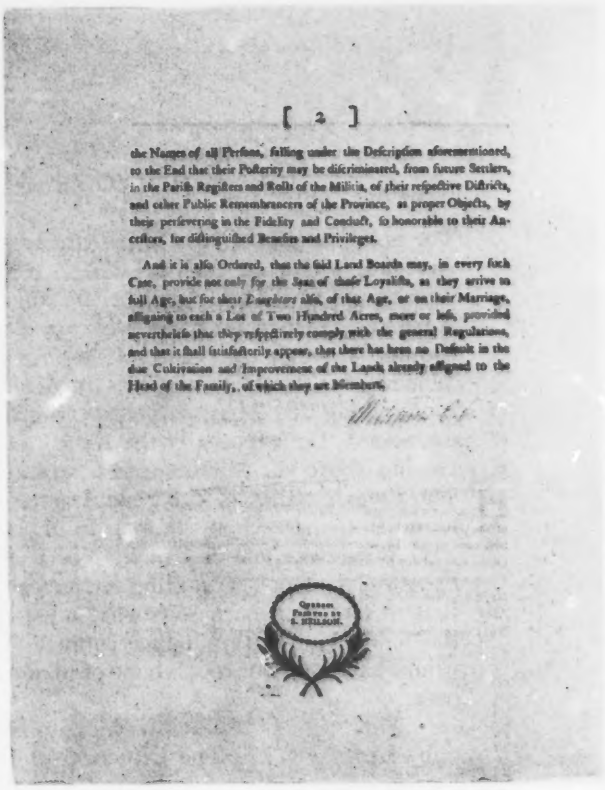
The Hon^ble^ WILLIAM SMITH, Esquire, Chief Justice.

HUGH FINLAY,	GEORGE POWNALL,	Esquires.
THOS. DUNN,	HENRY CALDWELL,	
EDWD. HARRISON,	WILLIAM GRANT,	
JOHN COLLIER,	FRANÇOIS BABY,	
ADAM MABANE,	CHARLES DE LANAUDIERE,	
J. G. C. DELERY,	LA CTE. DUPRE',	

HIS Lordship intimated to the Council, that it remained a Question, upon the late Regulation for the Disposition of the Waste Lands of the Crown, whether the Boards, constituted for that Purpose, were authorized to make Locations to the Sons of Loyalists, on their coming to full Age and that it was his Wish to put a Mark of Honor upon the Families who had adhered to the Unity of the Empire, and joined the Royal Standard in America before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783.

The Council concurring with His Lordship, it is accordingly ORDERED,

That the several Land Boards take Care for preserving a Registry of the



[2]

the Names of all Persons, falling under the Description aforementioned, to the End that their Posterity may be discriminated, from future Settlers, in the Parish Registers and Rolls of the Militia, of their respective Districts, and other Public Remembrancers of the Province, as proper Objects, by their persevering in the Fidelity and Conduct, so honorable to their Ancestors, for distinguished Benefits and Privileges.

And it is also Ordered, that the said Land Boards may, in every such Case, provide not only for the *Sons* of those Loyalists, as they arrive to full Age, but for their *Daughters* also, of that Age, or on their Marriage, assigning to each a Lot of Two Hundred Acres, more or less, provided nevertheless that they respectively comply with the general Regulations, and that it shall satisfactorily appear, that there has been no Default in the due Cultivation and Improvement of the Lands already assigned to the Head of the Family, of which they are Members.

QUEBEC PRINTED BY S. NEILSON.

Quebec. Order-in-Council for Land Boards to preserve registry of persons "who had adhered to the Unity of Empire." Broadside, 1789.

National Archives of Canada: Library (Negative nos. C-130528 and C-130529).

III

The Embryo of Modern Canada, 1784

The political map of North America looked very different at the end of the American Revolution than at its beginning. With its conclusion, Britain lost most of her possessions in North America. By the Peace of Paris of 1783, she acknowledged American independence and recognized a boundary — marked in red on this map — running through the centre of the four northerly Great Lakes and from Lake of the Woods "due west" to the imagined location of the Mississippi's headwaters, then south along the Mississippi. For the moment, the fate of the far west remained undecided, but eventually the Americans would claim all the territory from the line passing above the Mississippi's headwaters west to the Pacific and south to Mexico. The French, allies of the new American nation, obtained fishing rights off Newfoundland, marked on the map in blue.

What was left of British North America consisted of Newfoundland and its fisheries, the small struggling settlements of the Maritimes, French Quebec — which Britain had even been somewhat reluctant to keep just twenty years before — and the wilderness of the "upper country" beyond Quebec. Few observers at the time would have held out much hope of major development on this seemingly unpromising base.

This map, published by William Faden in 1796, is a later version of a map first published in 1777. The depiction of British North America is based heavily on French cartography prior to the Conquest of 1760. For example, two of the islands appearing in Lake Superior on this map, Philipeaux and Pontchartrain, are fictitious. The mistake was based on a French misinterpretation of a native account that had first been incorporated into a French map of the 1730s. General maps of British North America (as opposed to more detailed ones of settled areas) would continue for some time to rely upon the cartography of the French Regime.

The United States of North America with the British Territories and those of Spain according to the Treaty of 1784. Engraved by William Faden (1750–1836). London: William Faden, 1796. Map: hand-coloured, engraved. 52.5 × 63.5 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Cartographic and Architectural Archives Division. (NMC 24667).

IV

Settlement and Population

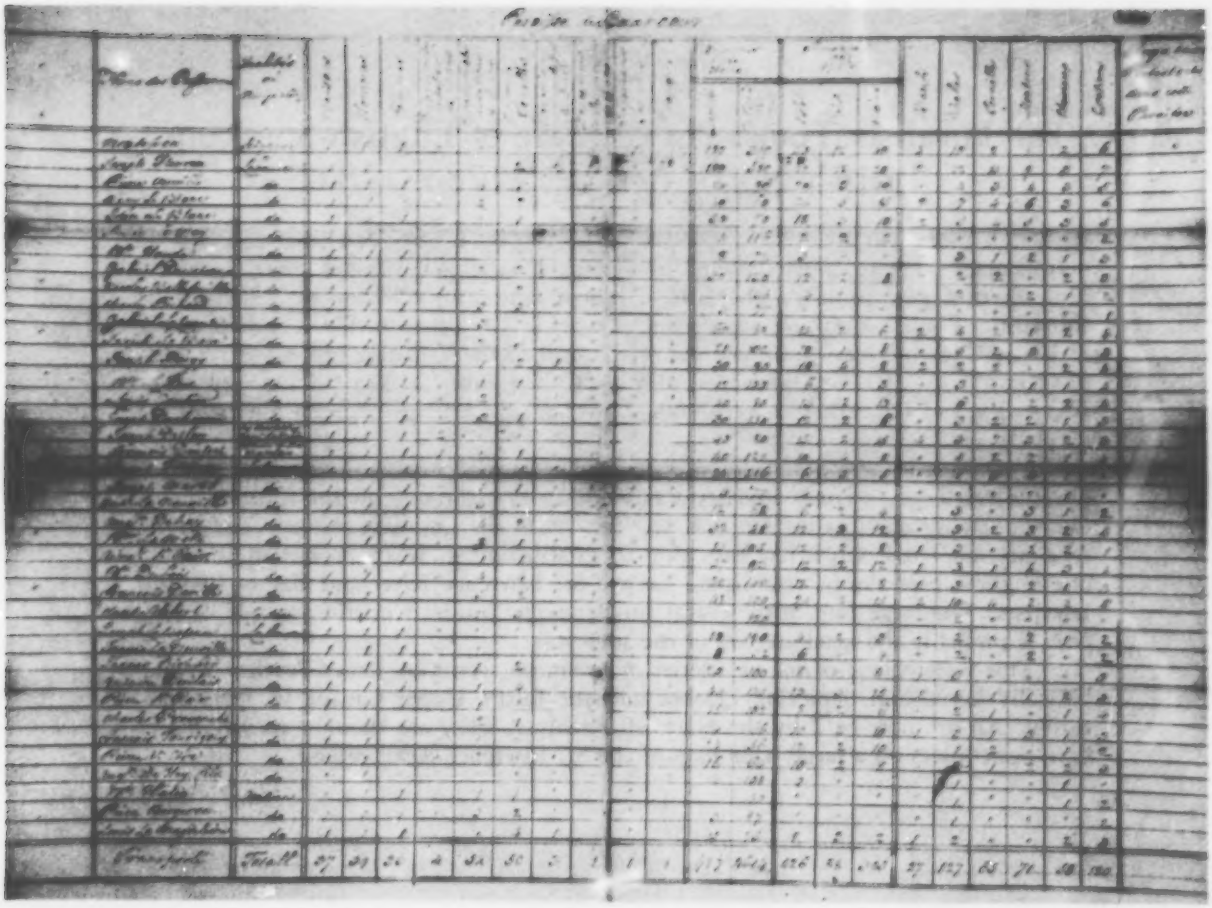
The resource that early British North America most obviously lacked between 1760 and 1815 was people. Although the years after 1815 would see more spectacular waves of immigration, central and eastern Canada did achieve a respectable population growth in this period that helped greatly in assuring the colonies' survival and prosperity. The growth of population, the process of settlement, the expansion of urban centres and the related development of communications in this period are all stories that most Canadians know little about; yet they can be told from the documents of the period.

IV

A Record Birth Rate

By far the largest concentration of population was in Quebec. The population of that colony in 1765 was 70,000; in 1790, 161,000 and in 1814, 300,000 or about sixty per cent of the total population of British North America. Remarkably, most of Quebec's population growth came not through immigration but through natural increase. Quebec at this period had the highest birth rate ever recorded for any people of European origin — its population was doubling every twenty-five to twenty-seven years!

This 1765 census of the seigneury of Bécancour is typical of many similar documents in the National Archives. When used in conjunction with other censuses, it is extremely valuable not only for calculating population, but for tracing family history, as well as for studying occupation, family size and structure, religious composition of the population and agricultural production.



Census of Bécancour, 1765.

National Archives of Canada:
Manuscript Division, Quebec and Lower Canada: "S" Series, Provincial and Civil Secretaries' Offices, RG 4, A 1, vol. 11, p. 4499.

IV

The Loyalists Transform the Face of English-Speaking British North America, 1783–1784

Although there was an existing population of 20,000 in the Maritimes and 8,000 permanent settlers in Newfoundland in 1783, the wave of Loyalist migration beginning in that year provided the British North American colonies with their first substantial English-speaking population. A total of 40,000 to 50,000 Loyalists came to British North America, approximately 35,000 to the Canadian Maritimes, 2,000 to Quebec and 7,500 to Ontario. To deal with the influx, the new provinces of New Brunswick and Cape Breton were created in 1784, and Upper Canada (Ontario) in 1791.

This view is the only surviving one by an eye-witness of the beginnings of Loyalist settlement. James Peachey was working as a surveyor in the future Upper Canada, laying out lots for the new settlers, when the Loyalists arrived. The little tent city, depicted only a few days after its establishment, was at Cornwall and was one of three base camps established for the St. Lawrence River and Bay of Quinte Loyalists. The large tent with several smaller tents beside it on the far side of the cove is probably the headquarters of the surveyors.

This watercolour is one of a series of seventeen scenes by James Peachey alphabetically keyed and depicting Quebec and the future Upper Canada in 1784 and earlier. All are now held by the National Archives. They are thought to originally have been insets on a large-scale map of the St. Lawrence River region.

Encampment of the Loyalists at Cornwall, 1784. James Peachey (fl. 1773–1797). Watercolour, pen and ink, after 1784. 16.6 × 36.5 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-2001).

IV

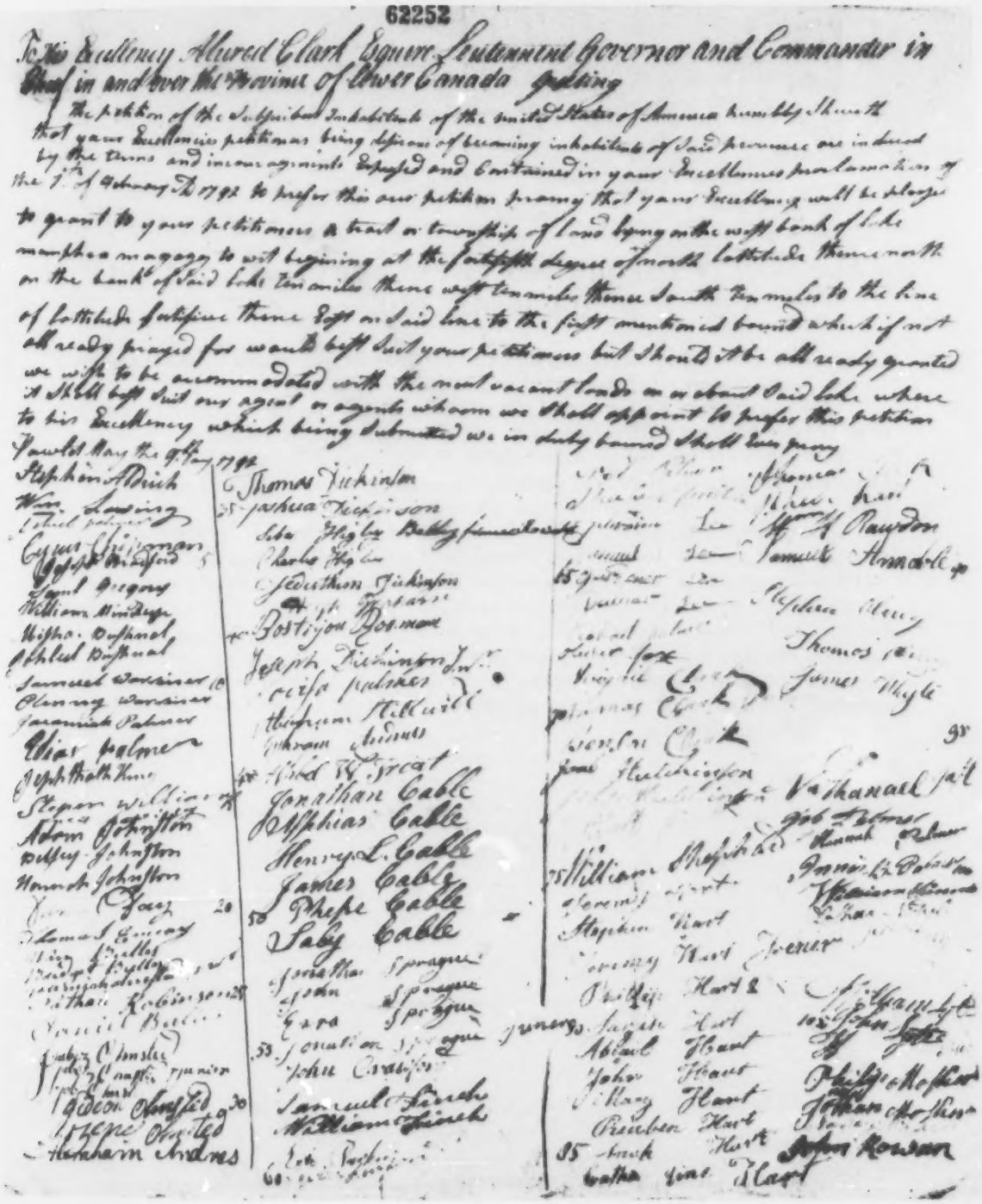
Some Americans Petition for Land, 1792

Many Americans were attracted to the British colonies after the Loyalist immigrations of the early 1780s. Upper Canada was the greatest beneficiary of this interest: it grew from a population of 7,500 in 1784 to 71,000 in 1814, largely on the basis of American emigration. The Maritimes and Quebec also received substantial numbers.

Some Americans came as "late Loyalists," drawn by their continuing allegiance to the Crown. Many more were attracted by economic considerations such as free and plentiful land in Upper Canada. Minority religious and ethnic groups such as the Quakers, Tunkers and Moravians established settlements to escape the intolerance that was frequently evident in the new republic to the south. Heavy American settlement created increasing concerns as the possibility of another war with the United States loomed large.

This petition of 1792 is from Stephen Aldrich, William Lawing and their associates in the State of Vermont, a group of Germans seeking a township on the shores of Lake Memphramagog, Quebec, in which to settle. Since no accurate statistics on American immigration into British North America exist for this period, such documents as this one are very helpful for studying the movement.

The petition comes from a series of land petitions and related documents such as reports of surveys and copies of official decisions submitted to the Land Committee of the Executive Council in Quebec, 1764–1841. The series consists of 210 volumes or 21 metres of material.



62252

To His Excellency Alured Clark Esquire Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the Province of Lower Canada &c &c &c

The petition of the Subscribers Inhabitants of the United States of America humbly Sheweth that your Excellencies petitioners being desirous of becoming inhabitants of Said Province are induced by the terms and encouragements Expressed and Contained in your Excellencies proclamation of the 7th of February 1792 to prefer this our petition praying that your Excellency will be pleased to grant to your petitioners a tract or township of land lying on the west bank of Lake Champlain Bounded to wit beginning at the forty fifth degree of north latitude thence north on the bank of said lake ten miles thence west ten miles thence South ten miles to the line of latitude aforesaid thence East on said line to the first mentioned bound which if not all ready prayed for we would beg leave not your petitioners but should it be all ready granted we wish to be accommodated with the next vacant lands on or about said lake where it shall best suit our agent or agents whom we shall appoint to prefer this petition to his Excellency which being submitted we in duty bound shall ever pray

Caption: Petition of Stephen Aldrich *et al.* for a township, 1792.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Executive Council: Lower Canada. Land Petitions, RG 1, L 3 L, vol. 126, p. 62252.

IV

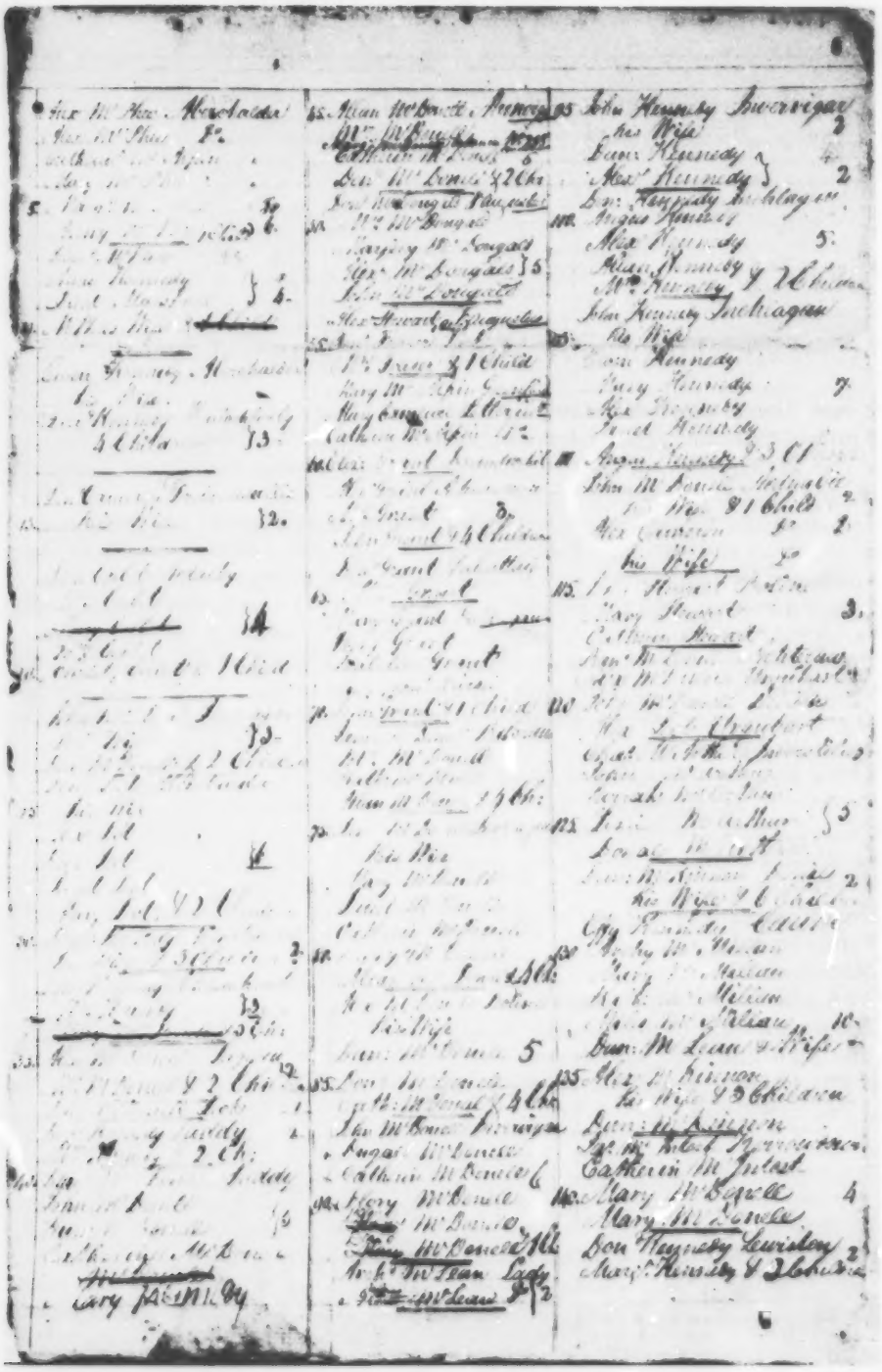
The Skirl of Bagpipes: A List of Scottish Immigrants to Canada, 1802

One notable group of immigrants were Scots Highlanders, of whom 15,000 came to British North America between 1770 and 1815.

The page shown is a portion of a list of immigrants and their families, a group of nearly five hundred settlers from Lochaber, Inverness-shire, Scotland, whose voyage to Canada in 1802 was led by Archibald McMillan (circa 1761–1832), a merchant. Originally arriving in Montreal, most of the group gravitated to the already established Highland settlement in Glengarry County, Upper Canada.

The clansmen emigrated voluntarily in the face of "improved" Scottish agriculture that took away their farms and offered them only small crofts to live on. Before 1815 and unassisted by the British government, the Scots had successfully established Prince Edward Island, the Pictou region of Nova Scotia, Glengarry County in Upper Canada, and to a lesser extent, Red River in what is now Manitoba as Highland districts, preserving their language and traditions.

The Archibald McMillan papers in the National Archives contain unusually extensive accounts, correspondence, petitions, agreements and nominal lists relating to this early immigration.



List of Scottish immigrants, 1802.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Archibald McMillan and Family papers, MG 24, I 183, p. 6.

IV

The Theory: A Model Township, 1790

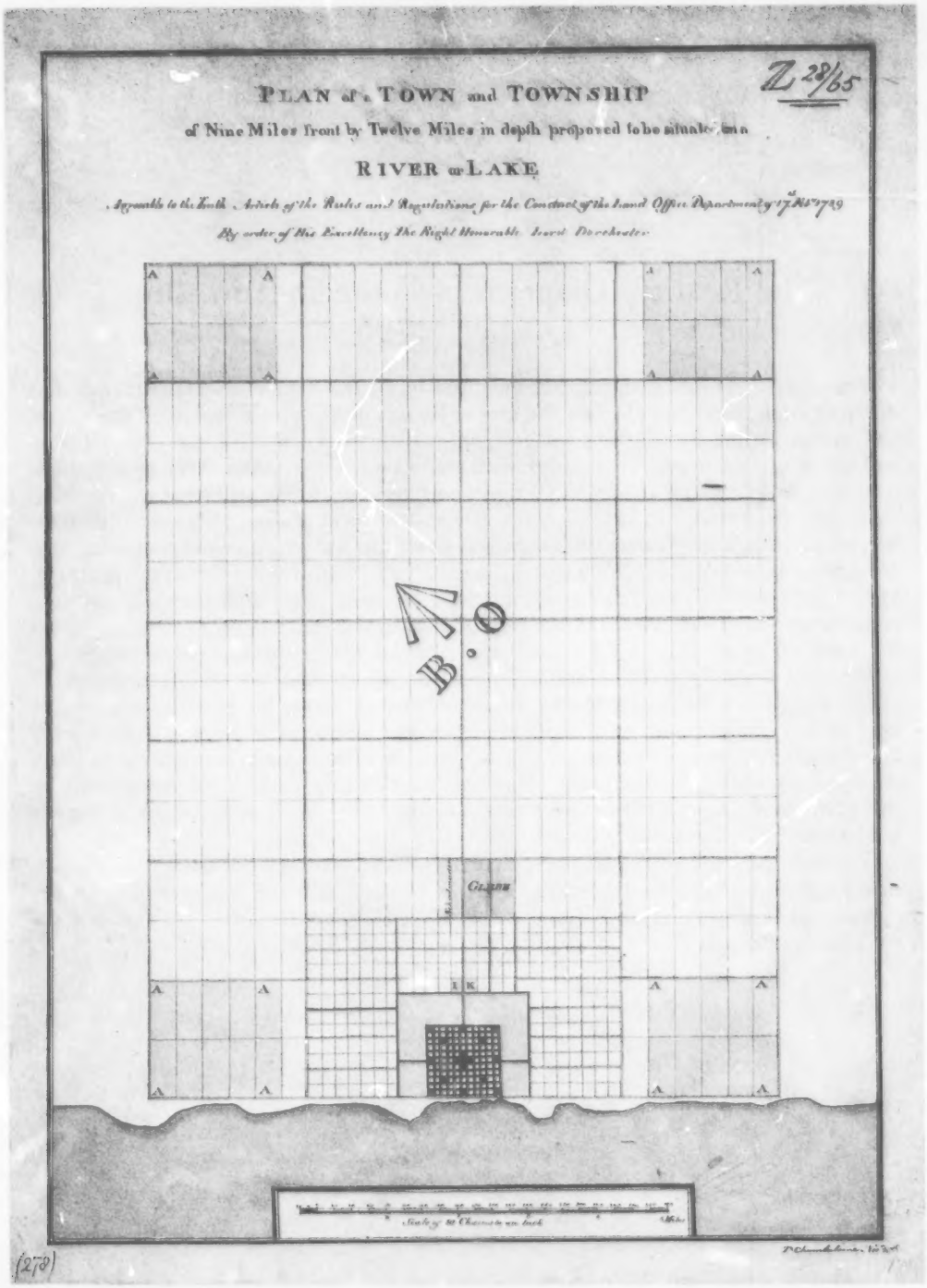
Rapid expansion of population caused government officials to give increasing thought to the proper organization of settlements. Although French Canadians would continue to use the seigneury as the unit of settlement, the township was the unit used by English-speaking Canadians.

Government officials, concerned about American and lower class immigrants, wished to attract and strengthen the growth of a "strong and loyal Aristocracy." This plan, proposed by Lord Dorchester (1724–1808), the Governor in Chief of Quebec, was designed to encourage the formation of local elites. His proposed township plan was to include a town one mile square, with one-acre lots that would appeal to prosperous residents. The town was to have a buffer of a half-mile around it, followed by park lots of twenty-four acres reserved for the most prominent residents. Ample provision was made for schools, churches, courts and jails to develop proper attitudes and to punish wrong ones.

Other features are explained by an alphabetic code:

A – Reserves to the Crown
B and C – Church, parsonage and schoolhouse
D – Gaol and courthouse
E – Workhouse
F – Church yards, hospitals, etc.
G – Public squares
H – Market-places
I – Town park for the schoolmaster
K – Town park for a minister

The plan bears the initials and arrowhead stamp of the Board of Ordnance, which was responsible for the supply of maps as well as other equipment to the British military forces.


PLAN of a TOWN and TOWNSHIP
of Nine Miles front by Twelve Miles in depth proposed to be situate on a
RIVER or LAKE
Agreeable to the Tenth Article of the Rules and Regulations for the Conduct of the Land Office Department 7th Nov.r 1789
By order of His Excellency The Right Honorable Lord Dorchester
A
B.
Green
1 K
Scale of 80 Chains to an Inch
Miles
(279)

"Plan of a Town and Township of Nine Miles front by Twelve Miles in depth proposed to be situated on a River or Lake." Ts. Chamberlaine. Plan: manuscript, hand-coloured, 1789, 43.0 × 29.7 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Cartographic and Architectural Archives Division (NMC 273).

The Reality: Diagram of Dunham Township, Quebec, 1796

The township pattern that actually emerged in central British North America was different from the rather abstract theories of British officials. A minority of townships had towns within them. Dunham Township, displayed here, did not. The location and shape of real towns were determined more by local economic and geographical factors than by official theory. Still the townships did display some of the essential characteristics evident in official plans. They were rectangular or square, with their lots laid out in a grid pattern. The typical township was 16 kilometers square, or if on navigable water, 19 kilometres in depth with a 14-kilometre water frontage. Modifications due to local circumstances were frequent. Although they did not generally have reserves of land laid out in blocks as in the official theory, the townships did have a seventh part of their land set aside "for use of the Protestant clergy" — called the Clergy Reserves — and a further seventh set aside for the government — called the Crown Reserves. Money from the sale of these lots was supposed to be used to aid the officially recognized churches and government projects. The Clergy and Crown Reserves were scattered in a "chequer board" pattern intended to place them evenly through a township. They are marked in grey and red respectively in this plan. Being held for later and more profitable sale, the reserves began to impede settlement by about 1820.

This survey is a certified copy prepared in 1796 for reference from the original, then kept in the Surveyor General's Office in Québec, which was responsible for the conduct of land surveys and is the major source of detailed maps chronicling the settlement of the land.

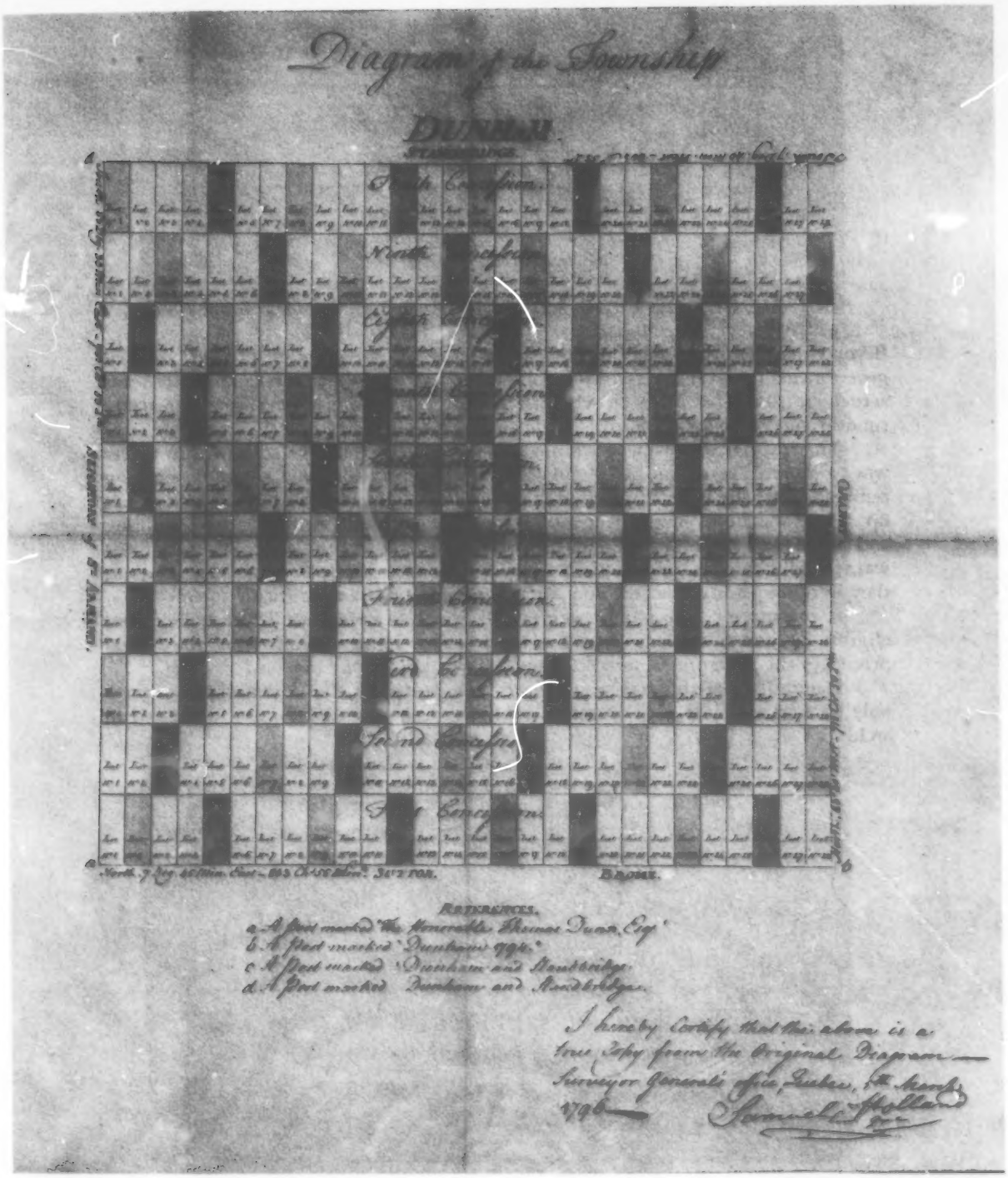


Diagram of the Township
DUNHAM
References.
a. A Post marked "The Honorable Thomas Dunn, Esq"
b. A Post marked "Dunham 1796."
c. A Post marked "Dunham and Stanbridge."
d. A Post marked Dunham and Standbridge.
I hereby Certify that this above is a
true Copy from the Original Diagram
Surveyor Generals office, Quebec, 8th March
1796
Samuel Holland
Surr Genl

"Diagram of the Township of Dunham." Certified by Samuel Holland (1728–1801). Plan: manuscript, hand-coloured, 1796, 39.3 × 33.8 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Cartographic and Architectural Archives Division (NMC 1330).

Conditions of Land Granting: Yonge Street, 1798

Beyond the establishment of settlement patterns and the granting of land, colonial governments found it necessary to take measures to ensure that the land granted was actually settled. Conditions on very attractive sites, like Yonge Street, the main artery running out of York (Toronto), sounded stringent.

The insistence that owners build a house and fence in five acres within a year was to prevent land from being monopolized by speculators who would do nothing but wait until the improvements of others in the neighbourhood pushed land values up. There was little government money for expensive projects such as road-building and maintenance, and the official regulation that landowners labour on local roads was virtually universal. Regulations were easier to make than put into effect, however; they were frequently ignored, and summonses and fines were difficult to enforce.

A manuscript note on the side of this handbill states that Loyalists were not eligible for grants on Yonge Street — a somewhat ironic application of the special privileges the government awarded them.

Handbills like this one would have been posted locally. Often copies survive only because examples were placed in official government records, now deposited in archives.

98

Council-Office, Dec. 29, 1798.

YONGE-STREET.

NOTICE is hereby given to all perſons ſettled, or about to ſettle on *YONGE-STREET*, and whoſe *locations* have not yet been confirmed by order of the PRESIDENT in council, that before ſuch locations can be confirmed it will be expected that the following CONDITIONS be complied with :

First. That within *twelve months* from the time they are permitted to occupy their reſpective lots, they do cauſe to be erected thereon a good and ſufficient dwelling houſe, of at leaſt 16 feet by 20 in the clear, and do occupy the ſame in *Perſon*, or by a ſubſtantial *Tenant*.

Second, THAT within the ſame period of time, they do clear and fence *five* acres, of their reſpective lots, in a ſubſtantial manner.

Third, THAT within the ſame period of time, they do open as much of the Yonge-Street road as lies between the front of their lots and the middle of ſaid road, amounting to one acre or thereabouts.

JOHN SMALL, C. E. C.

Yonge Street Settlement Regulations. Broadside, 1798.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Upper Canada: Submissions to the Executive Council on State Matters, 1791–1841, RG 1, E 3, vol. 100, p. 98.

A Royal Town: Halifax, 1800

While settlement grew in the rural areas of British North America, its cities were also developing. Founded in 1749, Halifax by 1790 was still a struggling town of shabby wooden structures, defended by the tumble-down remains of forts dating from the American Revolution. Its exports were small and its mercantile activity risky.

The Napoleonic Wars were buoying up the city's economy by the time Edward, Duke of Kent, son of King George III, arrived in Halifax in 1794 to be military Commander-in-Chief of Nova Scotia. When he left in 1800, Halifax was studded with excellent public and military buildings, and surrounded by powerful batteries that made it the strongest fortress in the world outside Europe.

The fort on George's Island, from which this view was taken, was a symbol of Halifax's military importance. It was entirely rebuilt and modernized by Edward, as was the Citadel, seen atop the hill in the centre of the view. On the left slope of Citadel Hill, the large mansion on the horizon is Belle Vue, Edward's handsome wooden residence, with its wide Corinthian portico. Government House, whose corner stone was laid the year this view was sketched by George Parkyns, is to the left, nearer to the Citadel and below it. In 1800 the Duke also laid the corner stone of St. George's Church, the round building to the right of the town Merchants were growing wealthy and, influenced by the Duke's example, were also building finer homes and bigger stores. Even the common folk were improving their tenements. Edward left a town with a new and lofty tone and a vigorous outlook on the world.

George Isham Parkyns (1750–1820) was an English watercolourist and engraver. He lived in Brooklyn in the United States from 1793, publishing a series of aquatint engravings of American cities. He visited Halifax in 1800 before returning to England where he published a series of four aquatints of Halifax. The National Archives holds all four aquatints as well as a view of Halifax by Parkyns published in the *Colonial Journal*, Vol. 6 (London, 1817).

View of Halifax from Georges Island.
George Isham Parkyns (1750–1820).
Etching and aquatint in brown ink with watercolour, circa 1801.
33.0 × 54.6 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-40306).

Québec City: Comfort and Squalor, 1804

Québec City, then as now, was considered one of the most spectacularly beautiful cities of North America. Its extensive line of commercial wharfs, carefully delineated on this military map, spoke of its prosperity, while the new suburbs pushing out to the west of the city beyond its walls proclaimed its growth. Its citadel and fortifications indicated heavy investment of public money and gave the city its military colour. Québec was lively, bustling and, by colonial standards, urbane and sophisticated.

Québec City, however, also exhibited the filth, poverty and danger common to cities of the period. A prominent citizen, William Smith, spoke of approaching the city by avenues full of "noxious vapours" and "encumbered by heaps of old shoes, cast mocassins . . . bones, dead cats and dogs . . . the emptying of slaughterhouses and cleaning of stables." Poverty was in clear evidence. Every day in winter crowds of beggars walked the streets with large bags to gather food from passers-by.

Fire was an ever-present danger, and protection against it consisted of ordinances such as one that required all carters in the city to report to the scene of a fire with a horse, cart, and cask, if they had one, to cart water and remove goods. There were two major fires between 1790 and 1815, each of which left many families homeless. Thus citizens of Québec lived surrounded by beauty and comfort, but also by appalling squalor and the risk of disaster.

This plan accompanied a report on Quebec's fortifications by Gother Mann, Major General Commanding, Royal Engineers. It was prepared in the Engineers' Drawing Room, Québec City. The military's concern with the city as a prime fortification meant that plans of it were frequently prepared.

Plan of the City and Fortifications of Québec City, 1 August 1804.
Gother Mann (1747–1830), Major General Commanding, Royal Engineers.
Map: manuscript, hand-coloured.
142.5 × 167.3 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Cartographic and Architectural Archives Division (NMC 95875).

IV

A Capital Among the Tree Stumps: York (Toronto), circa 1803

Unlike Québec City and Halifax, which had developed strategic and economic functions, York, Upper Canada, was a hothouse community forced ahead of its natural growth by its social position as capital. Many towns and villages in British North America still sat, like York, amidst stumps, with the forest looming behind them. Few, however, would have had such elaborate shops and houses.

The east end of the town along Front Street is seen in this painting, stretching from Cooper's Tavern on King Street around to the town blockhouse, a place for citizens to take shelter in case of attack. The town was only ten blocks long in total.

Cooper's Tavern, to the left of this view, was advertised in 1801 as being "as nearly on the footing of an English Inn as local circumstances will permit. . . ." Its owner, William Cooper, was an example of the flexibility necessary for success in a pioneer town: he was at various times, and often concurrently, a tavern keeper, school teacher, preacher, butcher, wharfinger, miller and auctioneer. The house behind the tavern belonged to Duncan Cameron, a Scots merchant, involved for a few years in a local trade in furs, while the next was that of William Warren Baldwin, an Irishman who, although a qualified doctor, maintained a comfortable and distinguished law practice. Baldwin was destined to become a major figure in reform politics. His neighbour to the right, William Allan, was a merchant and, like most of the major merchants of Upper Canada, a Scot. The last home belonged to Peter Russell, a government official who had been administrator of the province. Russell maintained the hundred acre lot he had been granted as a moderately successful farm and attempted, with difficulty, to live the leisurely life of a British gentleman. The two red brick single-storey structures beside the blockhouse were designed as the wings of a lieutenant-governor's residence that was never built. They served for meetings of the legislature, sessions of the courts, and church services and stood at the foot of what is now Parliament Street.

Three variant versions of this watercolour are known. Elizabeth Frances Hale (1774–1826) is likely to have copied this version from ones done in the autumn of 1803 by Edward Walsh.

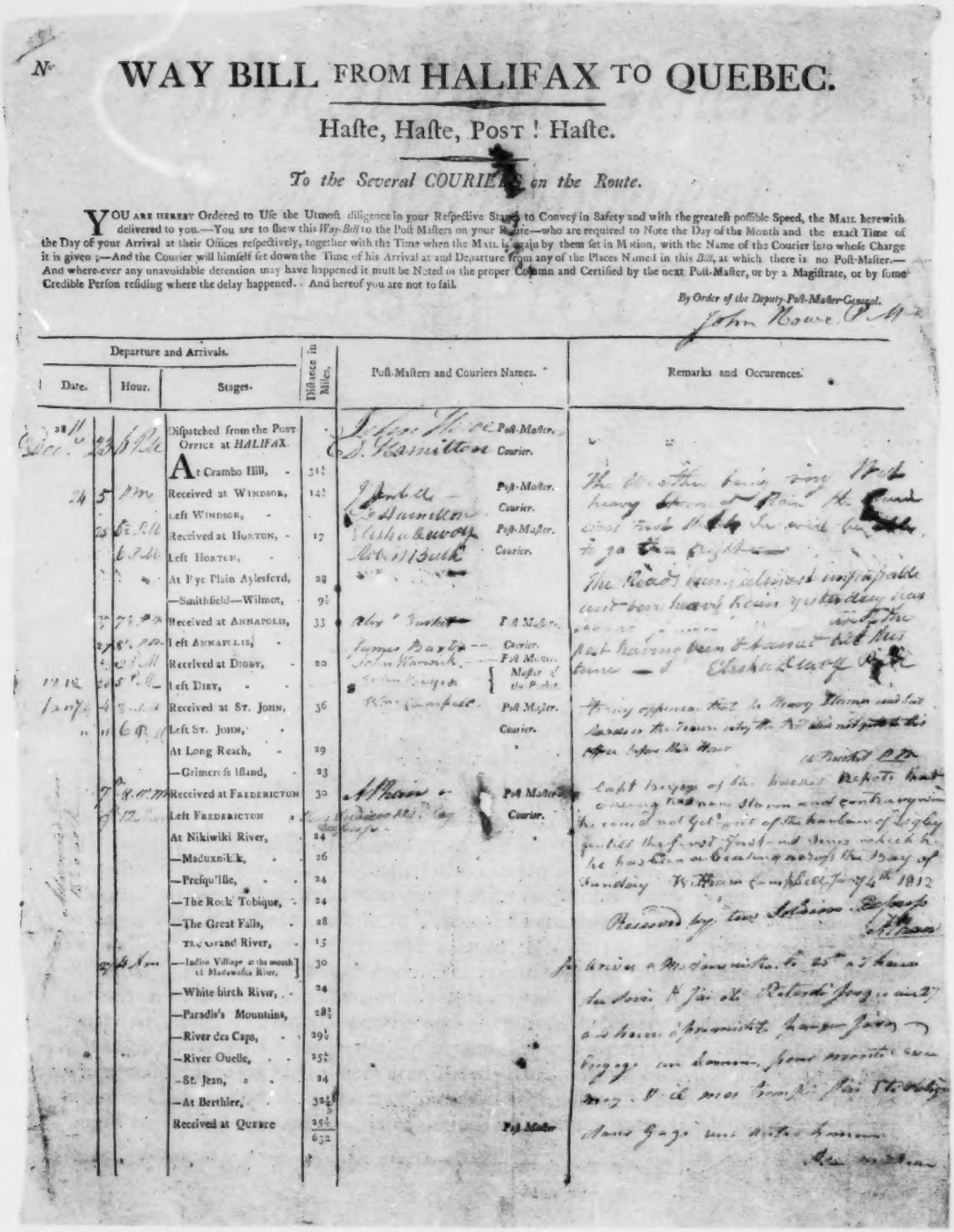
York, Upper Canada. Elizabeth Frances Hale (1774–1826). Watercolour, pen and ink over pencil, 1804. 28.3 × 44.5 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-40137).

The Mail Gets Through – Maybe, 1811–1812

The provision of adequate transportation and communications was a very major undertaking in early British North America. The remarks on this way-bill, carried by couriers attempting to get the mail from Halifax to Québec City in the dead of winter, dramatize the problems. Indeed, it is not even clear that the mail, after more than a month, actually did get through. The last notations are at Madawaska, still almost two hundred miles from Québec City.

A way-bill is a list of goods on conveyance. In this particular case, couriers were under instructions to have the postmasters at various points along their route note the day and time of the arrival and departure of the mail. Any delays were to be noted and certified by a responsible person. "In this," the instructions sternly warned, "you [the courier] are not to fail."



N°

WAY BILL FROM HALIFAX TO QUEBEC.

Haſte, Haſte, Post ! Haſte.

To the Several COURIERS on the Route.

YOU ARE HEREBY Ordered to Uſe the Utmoſt diligence in your Reſpective Stages to Convey in Safety and with the greateſt poſſible Speed, the MAIL herewith delivered to you.—You are to ſhew this *Way-Bill* to the Poſt Maſters on your Route—who are required to Note the Day of the Month and the exact Time of the Day of your Arrival at their Offices reſpectively, together with the Time when the MAIL is again by them ſet in Motion, with the Name of the Courier into whoſe Charge it is given ;—And the Courier will himſelf ſet down the Time of his Arrival at and Departure from any of the Places Named in this *Bill*, at which there is no Poſt-Maſter.—And where-ever any unavoidable detention may have happened it muſt be Noted in the proper Column and Certified by the next Poſt-Maſter, or by a Magiſtrate, or by ſome Credible Perſon reſiding where the delay happened. And hereof you are not to fail.

By Order of the Deputy-Poſt-Maſter-General.

John Howe P.M.

Departure and Arrivals. Date.	Hour.	Stages.	Diſtance in Miles.	Poſt-Maſters and Couriers Names.	Remarks and Occurences.
		Diſpatched from the Post Office at *HALIFAX*.		Poſt-Maſter. / Courier.	
		At Crambo Hill,	31½		
		Received at WINDSOR,	14½	Poſt-Maſter. / Courier.	
		Left WINDSOR,			
		Received at HORTON,	17	Poſt-Maſter. / Courier.	
		Left HORTON,			
		At Pye Plain Aylesford,	28		
		—Smithfield—Wilmot,	9½		
		Received at ANNAPOLIS,	33	P.M. / Courier. / P.M. / Maſter of the Packet.	
		Left ANNAPOLIS,			
		Received at DIGBY,	20		
		Left DIGBY,			
		Received at ST. JOHN,	36	Poſt Maſter. / Courier.	
		Left ST. JOHN,			
		At Long Reach,	29		
		—Grimmer's Iſland,	23		
		Received at FREDERICTON	30	Poſt Maſter. / Courier.	
		Left FREDERICTON			
		At Nikiwiki River,	24		
		—Maduxnikik,	26		
		—Preſqu'Iſle,	24		
		—The Rock Tobique,	24		
		—The Great Falls,	28		
		The Grand River,	15		
		—Indian Village at the mouth of Madawaſka River,	30		
		—White birch River,	24		
		—Paradis's Mountains,	28½		
		—River des Caps,	29½		
		—River Ouelle,	25½		
		—St. Jean,	24		
		—At Berthier,	32½		
		Received at QUEBEC	25½	Poſt Maſter	
			632		

Way Bill from Halifax to Quebec. Printed notice with manuscript additions, 1811–1812.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Miscellaneous Documents, MG 55/24, no. 59.

V

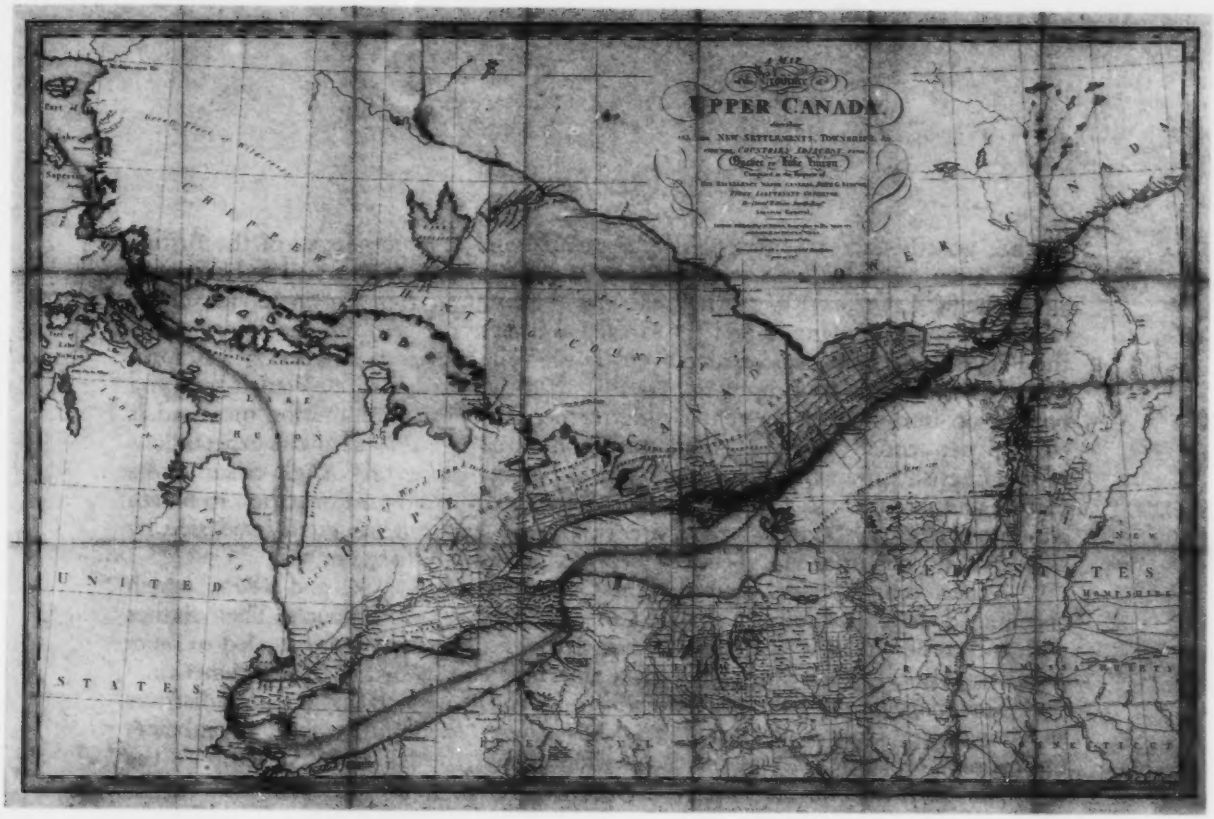
Political and General Social Development, 1784–1812

The political and social development of the British North American colonies was diversified, with no colony repeating the pattern of another. Politics in Quebec, for example, were fairly complex and gave rise to established party groupings and sophisticated political theory, while in Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, they focused on single issues. Each colony faced its own particular problems; regional diversity is not a new phenomenon. Yet politics of the colonies did follow a basic pattern of contention between local residents and imperial authorities as many colonists struggled to gain the powers and alterations necessary to work out their own solutions to their own problems. In general, it was a period of political frustration when many more problems were articulated than solutions found. Political agitations often tended to end in quiescence rather than resolution. Still, shared experiences would be carried forward into later periods to produce more viable solutions.

Upper Canada

Following an initial influx of population into what had been the upper reaches of Quebec, the Constitutional Act of 1791 divided the old Province of Quebec to create the new colony of Upper Canada (Ontario). Its first Lieutenant-Governor, John Graves Simcoe (1752–1806), a veteran of the Revolutionary War, attempted to make the new colony a bastion of British influence in the heart of the continent. Simcoe advocated the encouragement of a local artistocracy, and the foundation of churches, schools and universities based on British models. He encouraged rapid settlement — and thus the rapid surveying of townships, as the map shows — the firm establishment of new towns such as York (Toronto) and London, and the quick development of a road network, as exemplified here by Dundas and Yonge Streets. Simcoe was only partially successful in his aims. His successors lacked his vision and energy, and Upper Canada remained very North American in its outlook.

David William Smith (1764–1837) was the first Surveyor General of Upper Canada, a position that gave him an excellent opportunity to prepare this, the first accurate, detailed map of what is now southern Ontario. A careful examination of it yields information on the location and early names of towns, road networks, the position of former settlements of the French period, Indians settled after the American Revolution, and even the settlement of French aristocrats fleeing the French Revolution. Other editions of the map followed in 1813, 1818 and 1838, all of which are held by the National Archives.



A Map of the Province of Upper Canada describing All the New Settlements, Townships, & c. . . . . David William Smith (1764–1837). London: William Faden, 1800. Map: hand-coloured, engraved. 55.0 × 83.6 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Cartographic and Architectural Archives Division (NMC 98186).

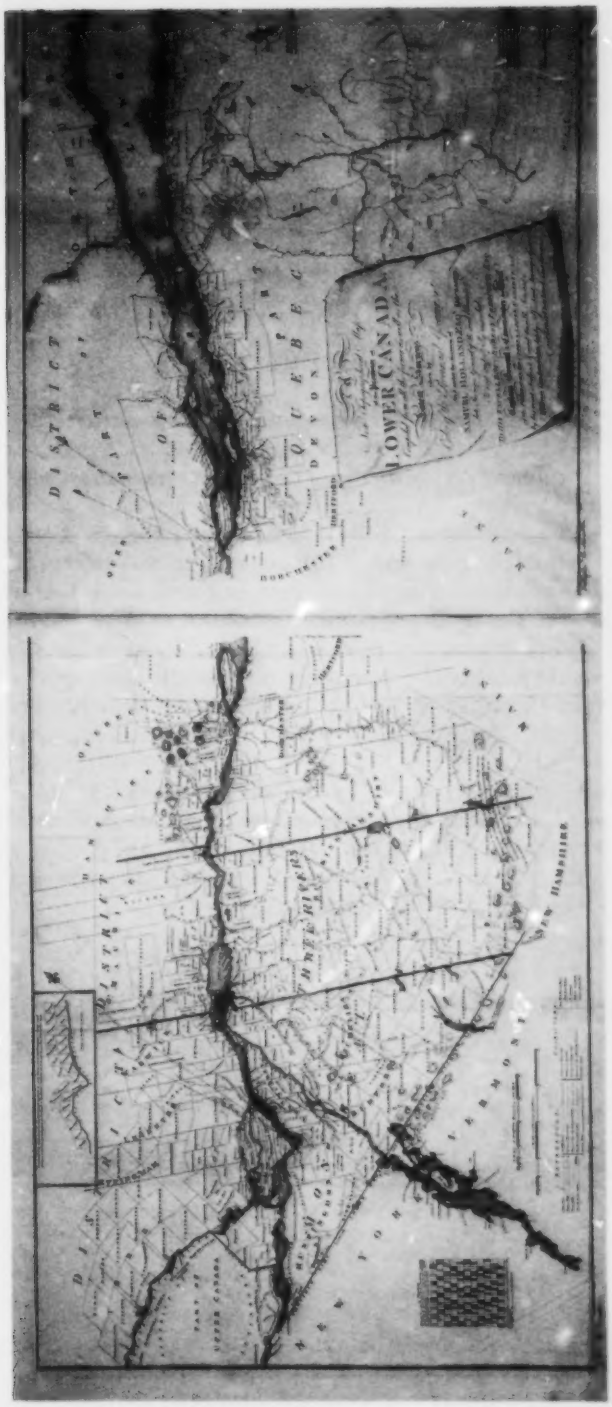
Quebec

Quebec was the largest, most densely populated and most developed of the British North American colonies. Settlement, as this map indicates, continued to be focused along the St. Lawrence River, which facilitated communication and trade. The upper reaches of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes were cut off from the colony when the "Pays d'En Haut" was separated off by the Constitutional Act of 1791 to form Upper Canada. The coming of the Loyalists had increased the non-French-speaking population from 4 to 9 per cent, while further American immigration increased it to 12.5 per cent by 1791. Their increasing numbers in turn raised the expectations of the English group that the colony would become more fully Anglo-Saxon in its culture and institutions. Quebec, however, remained the only major region in North America where the majority spoke French. French and English often lived side by side, but did not integrate. Tensions became increasingly frequent.

A new economy was emerging in Quebec between 1790 and 1815, which encouraged the growth of new classes of businessmen and professionals. Their clashes with each other and with British officials, sharpened by ethnic tensions, led to more complex political development here than anywhere else in British North America.

This map, on the large scale of eight miles to the inch, is laid out into districts and townships. Only a portion of it is shown here. At its full extent, it embraces the country on both sides of the St. Lawrence from the Island of Anticosti to the boundary of Upper Canada. There are several descriptive notes on the map. Churches, windmills and watermills as well as county lines, roads, settlements and "old French grants" are shown by means of symbols and lines according to the "references" engraved in the bottom left of the map.

The map was accompanied by a pamphlet by William Vondenvelden and Louis Charland entitled *Extraits des titres des anciennes concessions de terre en fief et seigneurie . . .* (Quebec, 1803) which gives a description of the location of the seigneuries as well as the date when they were granted. The National Archives holds a copy.



A New Topographical Map of the Province of Lower Canada . . . . William Vondenvelden and Louis Charland. London: Wm. Vondenvelden, 1803. Map: hand-coloured, engraved. Left sheet 59.0 × 77.6 cm. Centre sheet 59.0 × 78.2 cm. Right sheet 59.0 × 78.2 cm (detail).

National Archives of Canada: Cartographic and Architectural Archives Division (NMC 98187).

V

A Massive Counter-Petition Attempts to Avoid Reform in Quebec, 1784

Authoritarian and often arbitrary military government during the American Revolution led certain elements in Quebec society to press for representative government in the form of an assembly. Leaders in the movement were French- and English-Canadian merchants, French-Canadian professionals, Loyalists, and an elite of French-Canadian tradesmen and farmers. In 1784, they gathered 2,300 signatures in a petition for representative government. Opposition to this reform movement was led by French-Canadian seigneurs who felt their interests were well served by present conditions and feared the results of popular government. The sought-after reform was granted in the Constitutional Act of 1791, which created an assembly. The winning of an assembly would not have been possible without the participation of an important segment of French-Canadian society in the reform movement. French Canada was rapidly acquiring skill in using British parliamentary institutions and practices to express its needs and desires.

The counter-petition organized by seigneurs to oppose reform is illustrated here. Although it has 2,400 signatures, only a small number of which appear in the illustration, many names are inscribed in only a few hands. Most of the names, in fact, were recorded en masse at general meetings of habitants by seigneurs who more assumed than solicited support.

Petition for civil and religious liberties from the Roman Catholic citizens and inhabitants of Montreal, 1784 (detail).

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division: MG 23, G I 6.

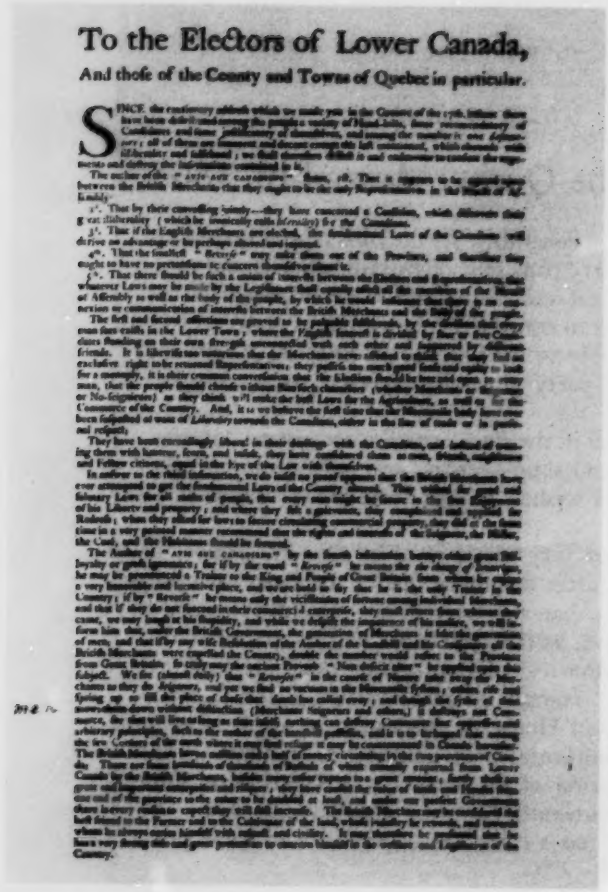
V

Posters from the First Quebec Election, 1792

The first elections for an assembly in Quebec were held in 1792. It sat in 1793. Because the property qualifications used to established the right to vote were based on British models, they gave the franchise to virtually every male head of a household in land-rich British North America, and politics from the beginning had a strong democratic tinge.

Before 1791, English and French elites had cooperated temporarily on political reform. From the first sitting of the Assembly, conflicts between the two groups rapidly emerged. Printed in both French and English, this campaign poster from Quebec's first election is meant to argue the harmony of interests between English merchants and French Canadians. It also lays out, however, the elements of constitutional, social, ethnic and economic conflict that would continue to be battlegrounds between these two groups to 1815 and well beyond.

This campaign literature was printed by Samuel Neilson (1771–1793) of Québec City. His order books in the Neilson papers at the National Archives indicate that seven hundred copies were initially printed. Only four, including the two illustrated, now survive.



To the Electors of Lower Canada,

And those of the County and Towns of Quebec in particular.

SINCE the reactionary address which we made you in the Course of the 1788. Winter there have been elected and returned to the County of Huntingdon, three successive sets of Candidates and three public survey of their votes, and among the number it was different sets; all of them are honourable and decent except the last mentioned, which obviously with ill-humour and falsehood; we shall therefore difficult to and endeavour to conduct this respectable and deserving, but [illegible] considered in its

The author of the "ANTI-ANTI-CANADIAN" [illegible], 1787. That it appears to us agreed upon between the British Merchants that they ought to be the only Representatives in the Houses of Assembly.

2°. That by their cancelling [illegible] they have concerted a Coalition, which deserves their great disfavour (which he ironically calls *liberality*) for the Canadians.

3°. That if the English Merchants are elected, the fundamental Laws of the Canadians will derive no advantage or be perhaps abused and repealed.

4°. That the [illegible] "Revesty" may take them out of the Province, and therefore they ought not to have no pretentions to concern themselves about it.

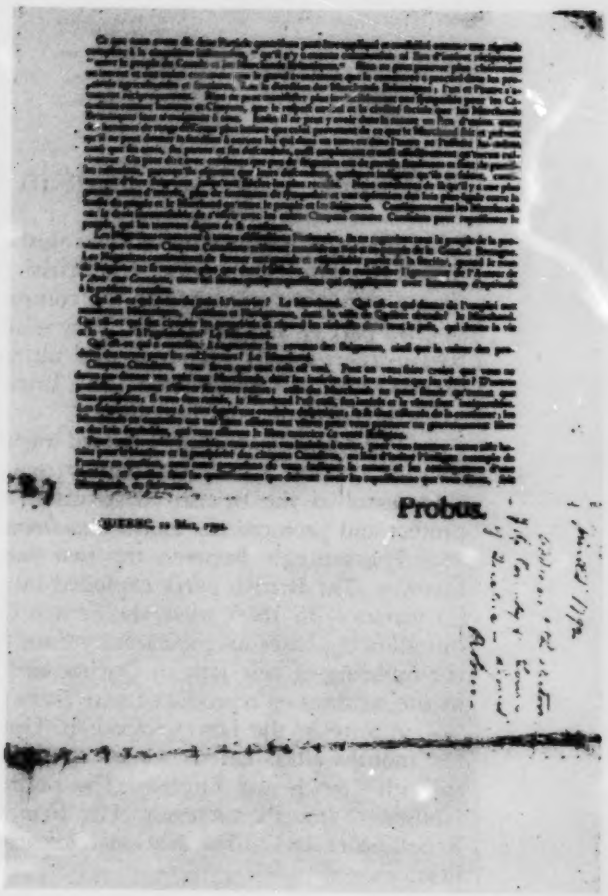
5°. That there should be such a union of interests between the Electors and Representatives, that whatever Laws may be made by the Legislature shall equally affect all the members of the House of Assembly as well as the body of the people, by which he would infinuate that there is no opposition or contradiction of interests between the British Merchants and the Body of the people.

The first and second allegations are proved to be palpable falsehoods, by the Petition and every man that resides in the Lower Town, where the English [illegible] is divided by four or five Canadians standing on their own free-will surrounded with each other and supported by different friends. It is likewise too notorious that the Merchants were refused to elect that they had an exclusive right to be returned Representatives; they publish too much good faith and candor to look for a monopoly, it is their constant conversation that the Canadians should be free and equal in every man, that the people should choose whom they [illegible] chuse (whether Merchants or Farmers or No-freeholders) as they think will make the best Laws for the Appendages, as well as for the Commerce of the Country. And, it is we believe the first time that the Merchants have ever been [illegible] of want of Liberality towards the Canadians, either in the line of trade or in public [illegible].

They have been exceedingly liberal in their dealings with the Canadians, and instead of treating them with harshness, [illegible], and [illegible], they have considered them as men, friends, neighbours and Fellow citizens, equal in the eye of the Law with themselves.

In answer to the third [illegible], we do [illegible] not [illegible] that the British Merchants have ever attempted to get the fundamental Laws of the Country [illegible]. They wished for good and salutary Laws for the [illegible] of people, that every man might be secure in the free [illegible] of his Liberty and property; and where they [illegible] a grievance, they complained and applied for Redress; when they asked for laws to secure circulating commercial property, they did it in the same time in a very [illegible] manner recommended that the rights and customs of the Seigneur, the Habitant, the Cure, and the Habitans should be [illegible].

The Author of "ANTI-ANTI-CANADIAN" by the fourth [illegible] between either great [illegible] Perfidy or gross [illegible], for if by the word "Revesty" he means the the Sovereign of [illegible], he may be considered a Trustee to the King and People of Great Britain, from whom he [illegible] a very honourable and lucrative place, and we are told to by that he is the only Trustee in the Country; if by "Revesty" he means only the vicissitudes of fortune among individuals [illegible], and that if they do not succeed in their commercial enterprizes, they may return from whence they came, we may laugh at his stupidity, and while we delight the impotence of his malice, we will inform him that, under the British Government, the possessions of Merchants is like the possessions of men, and that if by any wild [illegible] of the Author of the [illegible] and his Confederates, all the British Merchants were expelled the Country, [illegible] the money we would refuse to the Province from Great Britain. To [illegible] may the ancient Proverb "[illegible] defects" be applied upon this [illegible]. We [illegible] that "Revesty" in the courts of Nature [illegible] the Merchants as they do Seigneurs, and yet we find an increase in the Mercantile System, others rise and Spring up to fill the place of those that [illegible] have called away; and though the [illegible] of [illegible] overwhelm them without distinction, (Merchants, Seigneurs and others,) it [illegible] not Commerce, for that will live as long as there is [illegible], nothing can destroy Commerce but unpolished arbitrary principles, such as the author of the [illegible] publishes, and it is to be hoped that among the two Centers of the earth where it may find refuge it may be encouraged in Canada hereafter. The British Merchants have no other interest but of mercy circulating in the two provinces of Canada. There are many [illegible] of merchants of both [illegible] who have retired from Lower Canada by the British Merchants, besides many other respectable [illegible] gentlemen, [illegible] great and important enterprizes and refused; they have carried the value of lands and [illegible] from one end of the province to the other to be disposed of [illegible], and under our present Government there is every reason to expect they will [illegible] increase. The British Merchants may be considered the [illegible] friend to the Farmer and to the Cultivator of the land, which [illegible] he rewards, and [illegible] with whom he always carries himself with respect and civility. It may therefore be [illegible] that it is [illegible] very doubtful and great presumption to conceive himself to the welfare and Legislature of the Country.



Probus.

QUEBEC, 10 May, 1792.

Aux Electeurs du Bas Canada, et à ceux du Comté et des Villes de Québec en particulier / To the Electors of Lower Canada and those of the County and Towns of Quebec in particular. Probus [John Young?]. Québec City: Samuel Neilson, 1792. Pamphlet.

National Archives of Canada: Library (Negative nos. C-54628 and C-54631).

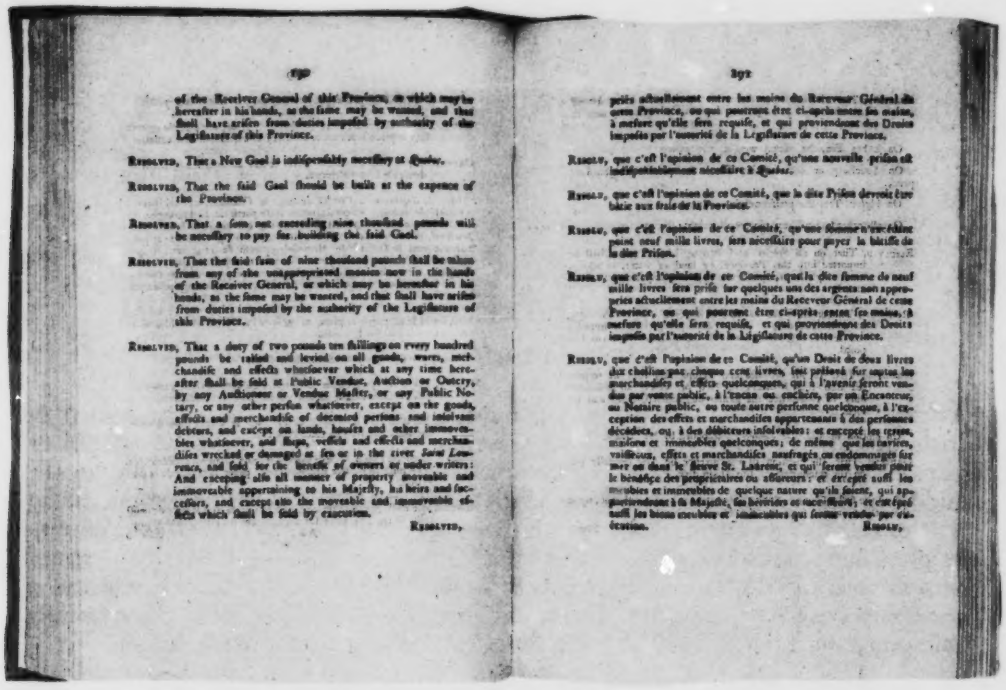
A French-English Clash in the Quebec Assembly, 1805

From the very first meeting of the Legislative Assembly, its members quickly divided themselves into two parties. The British party consisted of British officials and merchants who were interested in the commercial and demographic development of the English part of the population. They wished to control the Assembly in order to vote laws in their interest. They wished ultimately to see Quebec an English colony and French-Canadians assimilated. The British party generally received strong support from the Governor and his officials.

The French-Canadians grouped together in the *Parti canadien* comprised notaries, lawyers, doctors, surveyors, some artisans and shop-keepers, and well-to-do farmers. They extolled the British constitution and wished to use their rights under it to protect and promote the *nation canadienne*.

The struggle between the two parties very often revolved around control of finances. The British party exploded into bitter denunciations of the *Parti canadien*, for instance, in 1805 when the French Canadian majority in the Assembly passed a bill allowing taxes on commerce — not land, as the merchants had requested — for the building of new jails in Québec and Montreal. The proposed taxes are outlined in the resolutions reproduced here from the *Journals of the Assembly of Lower Canada*.

A vote in the Lower Canadian (Quebec) House of Assembly in April 1794, a few months after its first session opened, authorized the printing of its proceedings in both French and English. The publication of its *Journal* was awarded to John Neilson, Samuel's successor. His firm continued to print the *Journals* until the Rebellion of 1837. The National Archives has a complete original set of these publications.



190

of the Receiver General of this Province, or which may be hereafter in his hands, as the same may be wanted, and that shall have arisen from duties imposed by authority of the Legislature of this Province.

RESOLVED, That a New Gaol is indispensably necessary at Quebec.

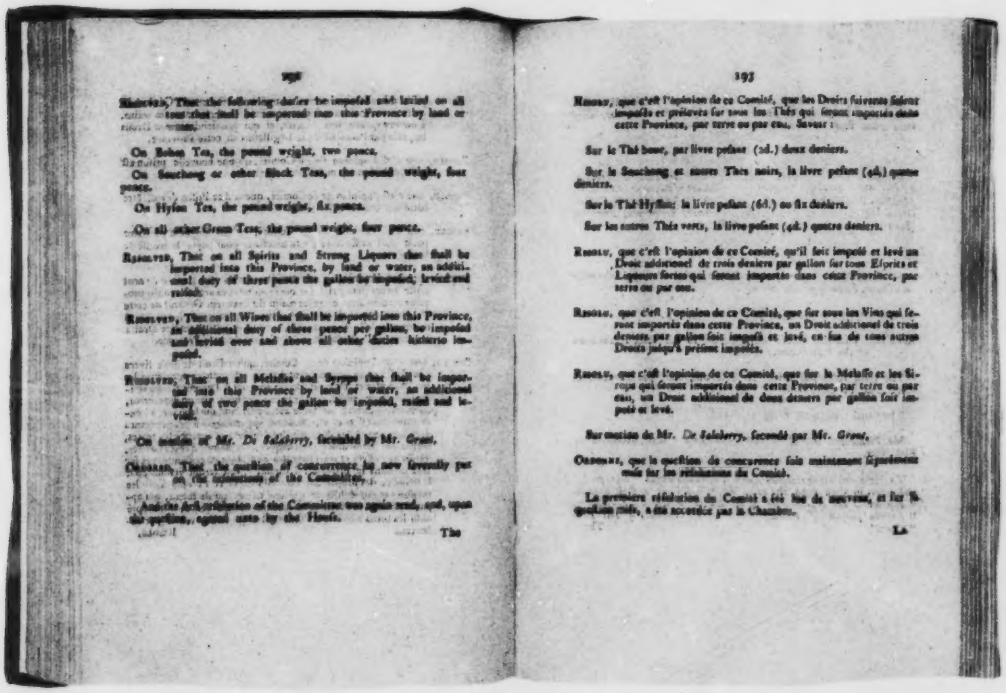
RESOLVED, That the said Gaol should be built at the expence of the Province.

RESOLVED, That a sum not exceeding nine thousand pounds will be necessary to pay for building the said Gaol.

RESOLVED, That the said sum of nine thousand pounds shall be taken from any of the unappropriated monies now in the hands of the Receiver General, or which may be hereafter in his hands, as the same may be wanted, and that shall have arisen from duties imposed by the authority of the Legislature of this Province.

RESOLVED, That a duty of two pounds ten shillings on every hundred pounds be raised and levied on all goods, wares, merchandize and effects whatsoever which at any time hereafter shall be sold at Public Vendue, Auction or Outcry, by any Auctioneer or Vendue Master, or any Public Notary, or any other person whatsoever, except on the goods, effects and merchandize of deceased persons and insolvent debtors, and except on lands, houses and other immoveables whatsoever, and ships, vessels and effects and merchandizes wrecked or damaged at sea or in the river *Saint Lawrence*, and sold for the benefit of owners or under writers: And excepting also all manner of property moveable and immoveable appertaining to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, and except also the moveable and immoveable effects which shall be sold by execution.

RESOLVED,



191

prêts actuellement entre les mains du Receveur Général de cette Province, ou qui pourront être ci-après entre ses mains, à mesure qu'elle sera requise, et qui proviendront des Droits imposés par l'autorité de la Législature de cette Province.

RESOLU, que c'est l'opinion de ce Comité, qu'une nouvelle prison est indispensablement nécessaire à *Québec*.

RESOLU, que c'est l'opinion de ce Comité, que la dite Prison devroit être bâtie aux frais de la Province.

RESOLU, que c'est l'opinion de ce Comité, qu'une somme n'excédant point neuf mille livres, sera nécessaire pour payer la bâtisse de la dite Prison.

RESOLU, que c'est l'opinion de ce Comité, que la dite somme de neuf mille livres sera prise sur quelques uns des argents non appropriés actuellement entre les mains du Receveur Général de cette Province, ou qui pourront être ci-après entre ses mains, à mesure qu'elle sera requise, et qui proviendront des Droits imposés par l'autorité de la Législature de cette Province.

RESOLU, que c'est l'opinion de ce Comité, qu'un Droit de deux livres dix chellins par chaque cent livres, tout prisant sur toutes les marchandises et effets quelconques, qui à l'avenir seront vendus par vente public, à l'encan ou enchère, par un Encanteur, ou Notaire public, ou toute autre personne quelconque, à l'exception des effets et marchandises appartenants à des personnes décédées, ou à des débiteurs insolvables: et excepté les grains, maisons et immeubles quelconques; de même que les navires, vaisseaux, effets et marchandises naufragés ou endommagés sur mer ou dans le fleuve St. Laurent, et qui seront vendus pour le bénéfice des propriétaires ou assureurs: et excepté aussi les meubles et immeubles de quelque nature qu'ils soient, qui appartiendront à Sa Majesté, ses héritiers et successeurs; et excepté aussi les biens meubles et immeubles qui seront vendus par exécution.

RESOLU,

192

RESOLVED, That the following duties be imposed and levied on all teas that shall be imported into this Province by land or water.

On Bohea Tea, the pound weight, two pence.

On Souchong or other black Teas, the pound weight, four pence.

On Hyson Tea, the pound weight, six pence.

On all other Green Teas, the pound weight, four pence.

RESOLVED, That on all Spirits and Strong Liquors that shall be imported into this Province, by land or water, an additional duty of three pence the gallon be imposed, levied and raised.

RESOLVED, That on all Wines that shall be imported into this Province, an additional duty of three pence per gallon, be imposed and levied over and above all other duties hitherto imposed.

RESOLVED, That on all Melasses and Syrups that shall be imported into this Province by land or water, an additional duty of two pence the gallon be imposed, raised and levied.

On motion of *Mr. De Salaberry*, seconded by *Mr. Grant*,

ORDERED, That the question of concurrence be now severally put on the resolutions of the Committee.

And the first resolution of the Committee was again read, and, upon the question, agreed unto by the House.

The

193

RESOLU, que c'est l'opinion de ce Comité, que les Droits suivants soient imposés et prélevés sur tous les Thés qui seront importés dans cette Province, par terre ou par eau, Savoir:

Sur le Thé bouc, par livre pesant (2d.) deux deniers.

Sur le Souchong et autres Thés noirs, la livre pesant (4d.) quatre deniers.

Sur le Thé Hyson, la livre pesant (6d.) six deniers.

Sur les autres Thés verts, la livre pesant (4d.) quatre deniers.

RESOLU, que c'est l'opinion de ce Comité, qu'il soit imposé et levé un Droit additionel de trois deniers par gallon sur tous Esprits et Liqueurs forts qui seront importés dans cette Province, par terre ou par eau.

RESOLU, que c'est l'opinion de ce Comité, que sur tous les Vins qui seront importés dans cette Province, un Droit additionel de trois deniers par gallon soit imposé et levé, en sus de tous autres Droits jusqu'à présent imposés.

RESOLU, que c'est l'opinion de ce Comité, que sur la Mélasse et les Sirops qui seront importés dans cette Province, par terre ou par eau, un Droit additionel de deux deniers par gallon soit imposé et levé.

Sur motion de Mr. *De Salaberry*, secondé par Mr. *Grant*,

ORDONNÉ, que la question de concurrence soit maintenant séparément mise sur les résolutions du Comité.

La première résolution du Comité a été lue de nouveau, et sur la question mise, a été accordée par la Chambre.

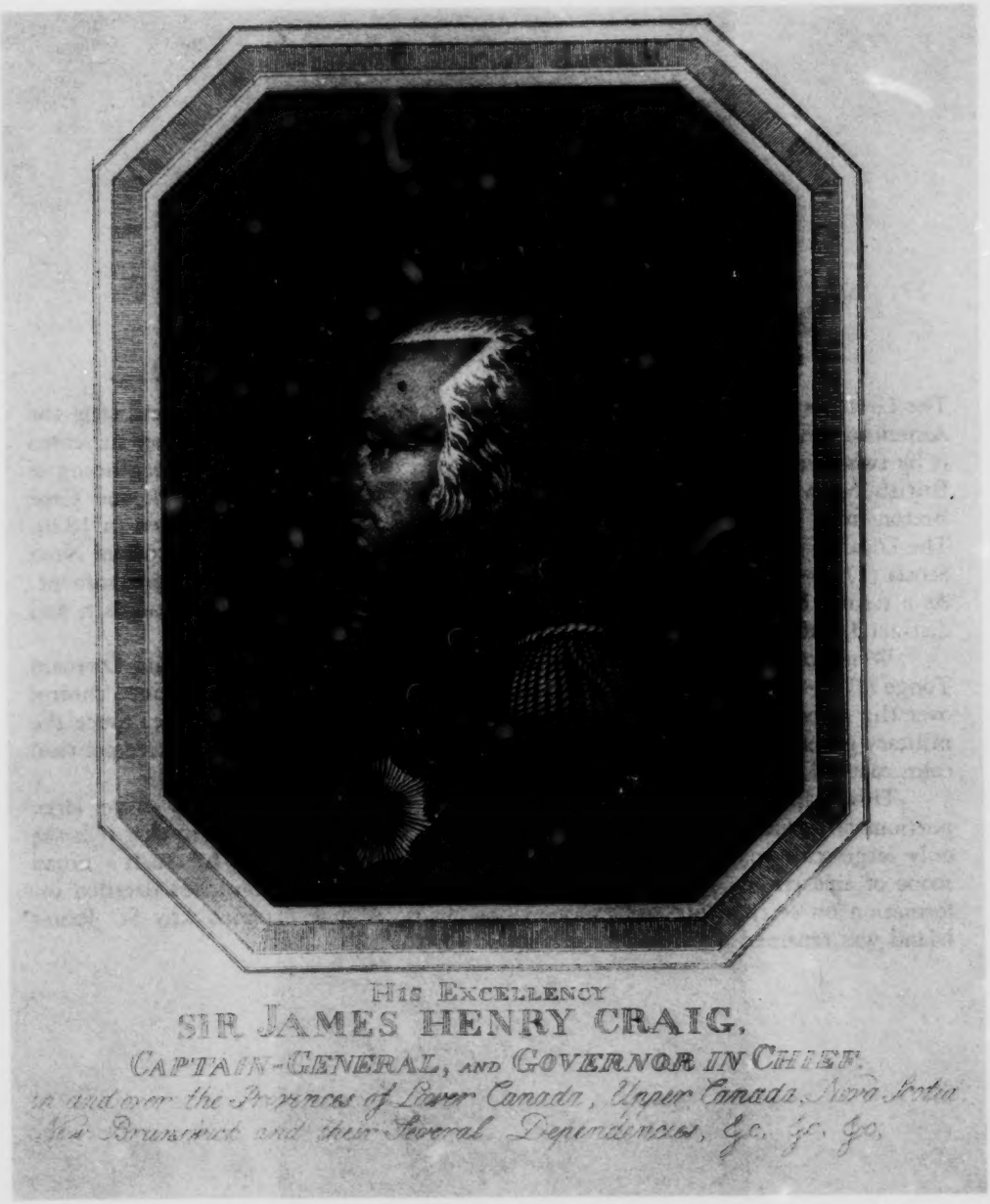
La

Journals of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada./Journaux de la Chambre d'Assemblée du Bas-Canada. Quebec: John Neilson, 1805, pp. 190–193.

National Archives of Canada: Library (Negative nos. C-130542 and C-130543).

Governor Craig and the Suppression of the *Parti canadien*, 1810

As the *Parti canadien* continued to vigorously push its programs, an atmosphere of crisis developed. A stern pro-British Governor, Sir James Craig (1748–1812) — pictured here — dissolved the legislature twice, in 1809 and 1810. Finally, in the middle of the 1810 electoral campaign, the Governor took advantage of some daring articles that had appeared in the French Canadian party's paper, *Le Canadien*, to seize its press and imprison its editors and some of its distributors — more than twenty persons in all. With its chief members in jail, the *Parti canadien* experienced a leadership crisis that it did not resolve until the late 1820s. The *Parti* was relatively quiescent, and for a period Quebec politics exhibited at least a surface calm.



His Excellency Sir James Henry Craig . . . . Anonymous. Hand-coloured mezzotint. 32.7 × 25.5 cm.

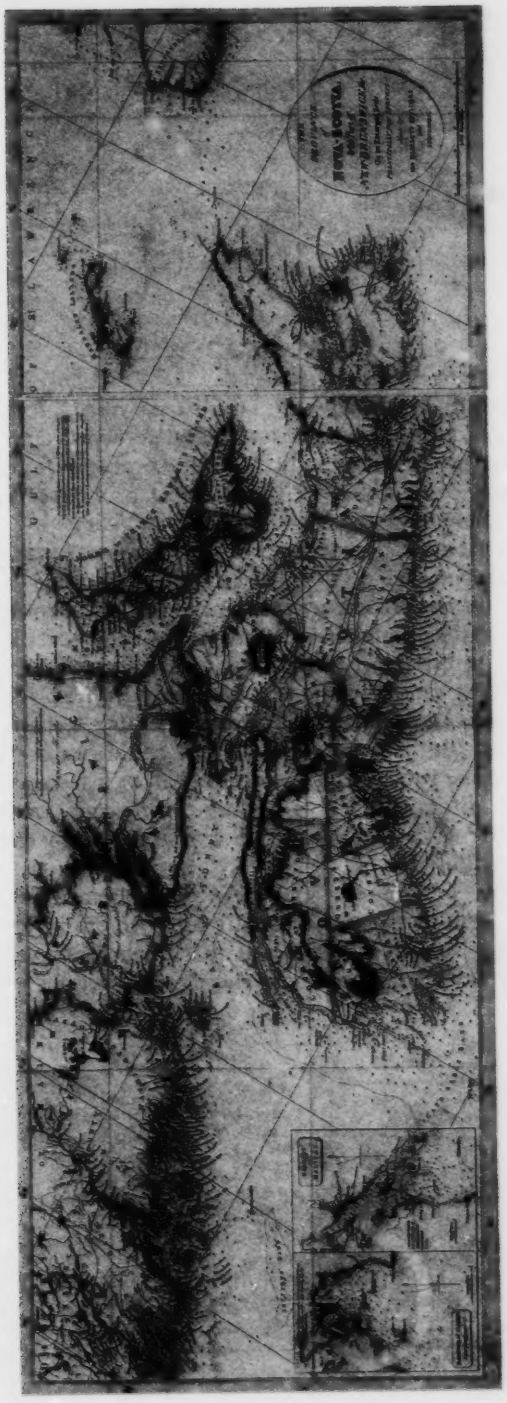
National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-24888).

Nova Scotia

The Loyalists and disbanded soldiers who came to Nova Scotia during and after the American Revolution created a tremendous surge in its population — they increased it by two-thirds — and their coming can be said to mark the effective beginning of British Nova Scotia. One result was the separation of New Brunswick and Cape Breton from Nova Scotia as separate colonies. Cape Breton was reattached in 1820. The Loyalist John Wentworth (1737–1820) used his long term as Governor of Nova Scotia (1792–1808) to establish Loyalist control of the higher levels of government. As a result, Loyalists did not find it necessary to push their claims vigorously, and distinct Loyalist influence disappeared rapidly.

Wentworth clashed constantly with a "country party" led by William Cottnam Tonge (1764–circa 1825). Despite Wentworth's efforts, the Assembly gained control over the disposition of road moneys, the chief source of local patronage. Since the military governors who followed did not challenge this arrangement, relative political calm marked Nova Scotian politics until well into the 1830s.

This map is an inset taken from Purdy's *Map of Cabotia*, which covers large portions of Canada east of Lake Superior. The *Cabotia* map is unique in that it is the only large-scale map of British North America of the time that has such a broad scope of area coverage and information. The Nova Scotia section gives detailed information on settlements and especially on roads. A note explains why St. John's Island was renamed Prince Edward Island.



The Province of Nova Scotia with Part of New Brunswick & c. . . . John Purdy.
Map: hand-coloured, engraved,
35.5 × 105.0 cm.
Inset in *A Map of Cabotia Comprehending the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, New-Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, with Breton Island, Newfoundland & c. . . .*
Engraved by Thompson and Hall.
London: Whittle and Laurie, 1814.

National Archives of Canada:
Cartographic and Architectural Archives Division (NMC 98208).

New Brunswick

New Brunswick was pre-eminently "the Loyalist province." Its population, less than 4,000 before 1784 (including Acadians who had returned after the expulsion), was suddenly augmented by approximately 14,000 Loyalist refugees who came to the north shore of the Bay of Fundy as well as the St. Croix River Valley and established their major settlements along the Saint John River Valley.

The "Negro settlement" mentioned on this map of settlement along the Saint John River is a reminder that 3,000 of the Loyalists coming to the Maritimes were blacks. The map shows fairly compact settlement along the river between Saint John, the commercial centre at the mouth, and Fredericton, the government capital. Virgin, almost impenetrable forest that covered most of the province encouraged this settlement pattern. Roads, as can be seen, were extremely limited. The mills dotted along the river were a witness to an early optimism concerning agriculture and lumbering, but the quality of the land was poor and settlers could not compete effectively with cheaper American timber production. Settlers began to leave and the economy became depressed. Economic difficulties led to intense controversies over regional, social and religious issues in politics, with a very vocal opposition led by the brilliant and erratic Scot, James Glenie (1750–1817).

As lumbering became more prosperous in the early nineteenth century, however, tensions subsided. Those years saw Scottish and Irish immigration into the colony that would eventually submerge the Loyalist element. Encouraged by lumbering, population began to spread out from the shore and the river valleys in a much less compact fashion.

A Map of the Great River St. John & Waters . . . . Robert Campbell. Engraved by S.I. Neele. London: Robert Campbell, 1788. Map: engraved, 59.9 × 40.2 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Cartographic and Architectural Archives Division (NMC 254).

Prince Edward Island Through Rose-Coloured Glasses, 1779

The Island of St. John (Prince Edward Island after 1799) experienced major problems that induced some of its large landowners to advertise for settlers.

In 1767, sixty-seven townships of 20,000 acres each had been granted by lottery to military officers and others to whom the British government owed favours. The proprietors were required to settle their lands to fulfil the terms of their grants, but few made an effort to do so. The island had vast areas of undeveloped land, yet those who wished to settle had to pay steep rents or purchase fees. As a result, PEI was largely neglected. The population of Newfoundland, in fact, increased more quickly.

In this example of slick salesmanship, one of the proprietors, Robert Clark, attempts to attract "Industrious Farmers and Tradesmen with some Property" who in PEI "may live in a comfortable manner, unknown to people of their station in this country [England]." Clark, perhaps not surprisingly, ignores the problems of the Island and promotes its natural advantages. He describes it, on the page shown here, as being like England only much better — a veritable Garden of Eden.

A

SHORT DESCRIPTION

OF THE

ISLAND of ST. JOHN,

In the GULPH of ST. LAWRENCE,

NORTH-AMERICA.

THE ISLAND of ST. JOHN is ſituate in the Gulph of the River St. Lawrence, between 46 and 47 degrees North latitude, and about 62 degrees Weſt longitude from London; its extent about 140 miles in length, and 30 miles in breadth; is contiguous to Nova-Scotia, Cape-Breton, Newfoundland, the Bay of Chaleurs, and Canada; is governed by a Governor appointed by the Crown, a Council and an Aſſembly, choſen from the moſt reſpectable Proprietors and other Inhabitants on the Iſland, empowered to make laws for the ſafety of the ſubject, and conſonant to thoſe of Great-Britain. Several Towns and Settlements are already formed, and Fortifications are erected and garriſoned.

The Climate is healthy and temperate, not ſubject to Fogs (ſo frequent in Newfoundland) nor to the ſudden changes of Weather we experience in England. The Winter, which ſets in about December, continues till April, during this period it is colder than in England, but not ſo ſevere as to injure the Cattle that are kept out and foddered, nor any ways to prevent the exertions of the Inhabitants in their various employments; the Sun appears with great brightneſs, producing ſerene Weather and a clear Sky. In April, the Spring opens, the Trees bloſſom, and Vegetation is in great forwardneſs; the Huſbandman now prepares the Ground for Seed. In May, the face of the whole Country wears a delightful aſpect, the uncommon Verdure, and natural Beauties of the place at this ſeaſon, are not to be exceiled. The Farmer now begins to ſow and plant, which is generally accompliſhed by the middle of June; when done, they betake themſelves to Fiſhing; the Huſbandry requiring but little attention for the preſent. Vegetation is ſo exceeding quick, that in July, Peaſe, &c. are gathered, which were ſown the preceding Month. The ſeaſon of Harveſt now approaches, and is uncommonly fine, attended with ſoft refreſhing ſhowers; indeed the whole Autumn is more ſerene and regular than in England.

In

A Short Description of the Island of St. John, in the Gulph of St. Laurence, North America. Robert Clark. [London?], 1779, p. 1.

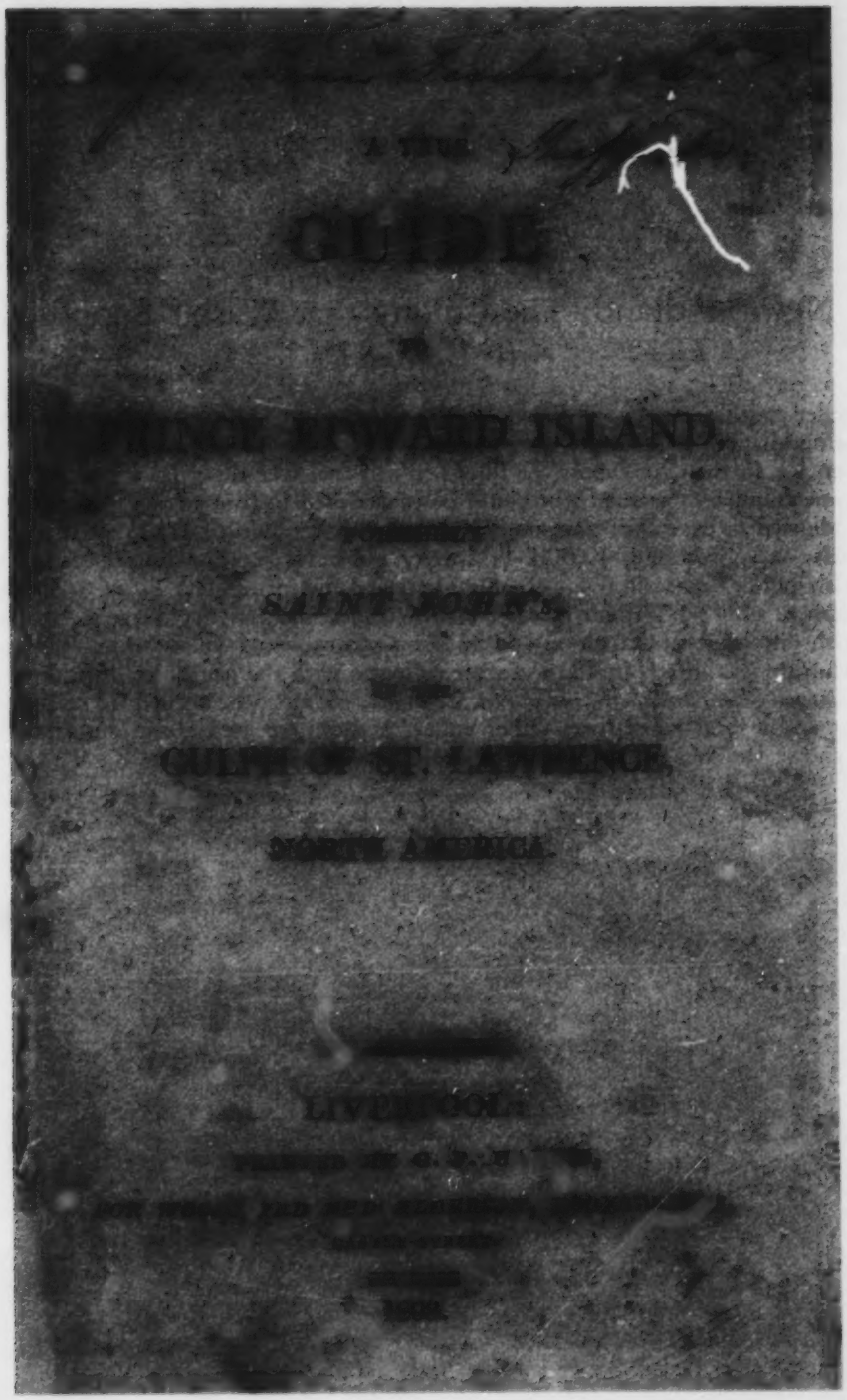
National Archives of Canada: Library (Negative no. C-130540).

V

A Prince Edward Island Exposé, 1808

In this pamphlet, an anonymous resident of Prince Edward Island sets out with humour and determination to right the false impression given by the last item and other similar productions. He has lived, the author says, for twenty years on the Island and has seen "establishments landed for the most improved and refined agriculture, when there was not a good farmer on the Island; splendid curricles and wheeled carriages, when there was but one road, and that a short one, sufficient for a small cart; illumination lamps, when there was scarcely a window sufficiently large to hold a dozen; and opera hats, when the hall doors would hardly admit them on the wearer's head. Poor people have been told of spontaneous crops in the wilderness; and cleared lands in places where they hardly find their way twenty yards straight forward."

The land question dominated politics on the Island from 1763 until it entered Confederation in 1873.

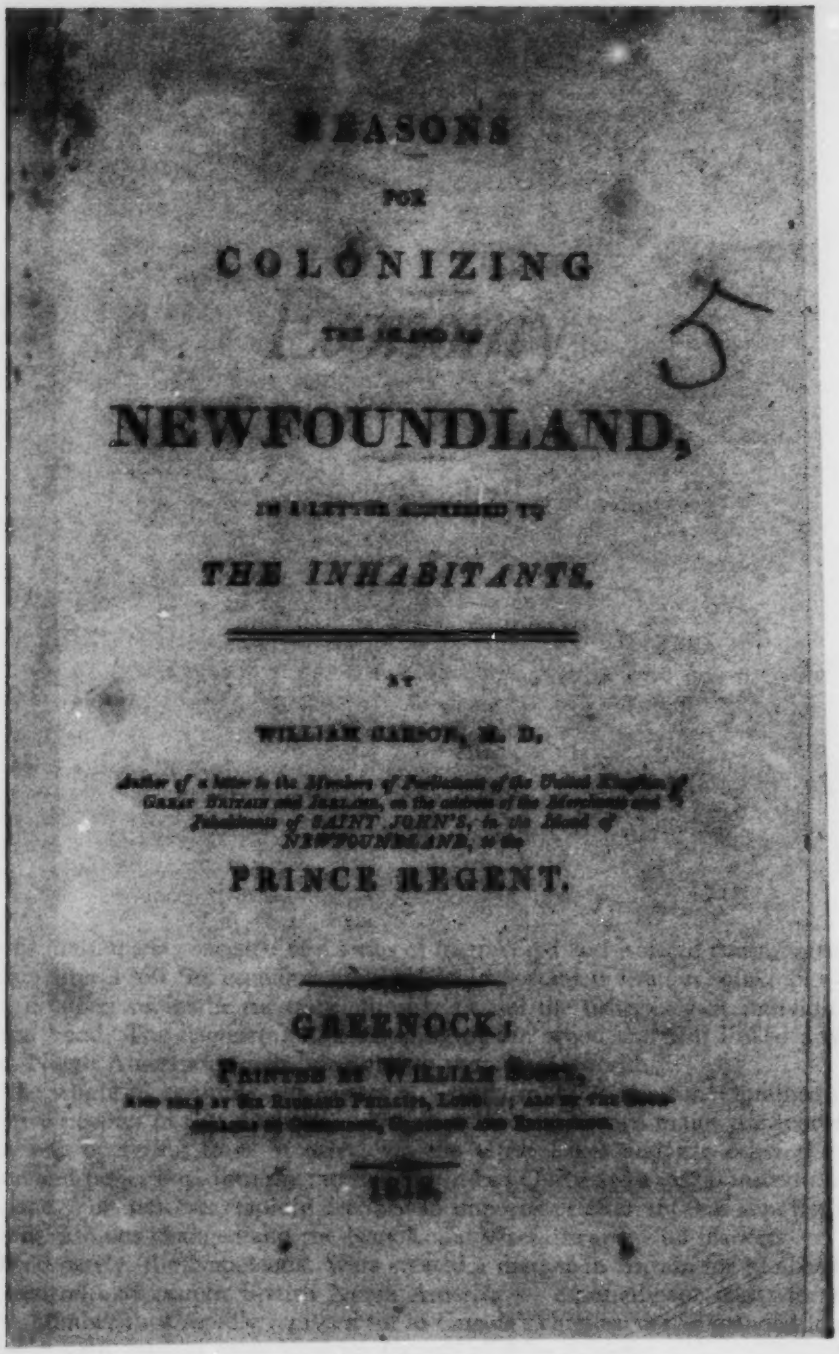


A True Guide to Prince Edward Island, formerly Saint John's, in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, North America. Anonymous. Liverpool: G.F. Harris for Woodward and Alderson, 1808. Pamphlet. Title page.

National Archives of Canada: Library (Negative no. C-130530).

Newfoundland: The Colony that Wasn't Supposed to Be, 1813

In order to make the Grand Banks off Newfoundland a "nursery for British seamen," Newfoundland was officially not supposed to have any permanent settlement. Fishermen would then, in theory, be forced to sail the Atlantic twice a year and would become competent seamen who could be conscripted in time of war. The island was not allowed to have civil government or even any agriculture; yet by 1812, it had a population approaching 40,000. Prosperity and heavy increases in population made British policy increasingly untenable. In a forceful pamphlet, *Letter to Members of Parliament* (1812), William Carson (1770–1843), the District Surgeon, convinced British officials that starvation and public disorder would follow unless the ban on agriculture was lifted. In 1813, Carson followed with the pamphlet illustrated here, *Reasons for Colonizing the Island of Newfoundland*, in which he argued for civil government and a local legislature. Other issues, however, seemed more important when the end of the War of 1812 brought depression and social unrest.



REASONS

FOR

COLONIZING

THE ISLAND OF

NEWFOUNDLAND,

IN A LETTER ADDRESSED TO

THE INHABITANTS.

BY

WILLIAM CARSON, M. D.

Author of a letter to the Members of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the subject of the Merchants and Inhabitants of SAINT JOHN'S, in the Island of NEWFOUNDLAND, to the

PRINCE REGENT.

GREENOCK:

PRINTED BY WILLIAM SCOTT,

1813.

Reasons for Colonizing the Island of Newfoundland, in a Letter Addressed to the Inhabitants. William Carson, M.D. (1770–1843). Greenock, Scotland: W. Scott, 1813. Title page.

National Archives of Canada: Library (Negative no. C-130544).

VI

Economy

If the future Canada consisted of a series of fragmented and isolated communities in the years after 1760, its economy provided an important if tenuous source of unity. Shared occupations in the fur trade, lumbering and the fisheries gave individuals a common bond. The harvesting and shipping of fur, wood and fish linked areas of British North America to each other and to the outside world.

The single most important export of Canada in 1760 was fur. Obtained from the native peoples in the northern and western interior by two major transportation routes, one operating from Montreal via the Great Lakes and the other through Hudson and James Bays into the interior, fur linked Quebec to a vast transcontinental hinterland. Fur, however, rapidly declined in importance after 1800 as supplies were depleted, fashions changed and the Napoleonic Wars disrupted its markets.

Fortunately, the Napoleonic Wars created a market in Britain for lumber from all of central and eastern British North America — especially for masts for naval vessels. Lumber thus rapidly replaced fur as Canada's chief export. Expanded lumber exports in turn sparked more local production of ships to carry it.

Their fisheries linked the Maritimes and Newfoundland to Europe, and they prospered in the later phases of the Napoleonic Wars, because of links to the West Indies.

Tables Reveal the Extent and Value of the Montreal Fur Trade, 1767

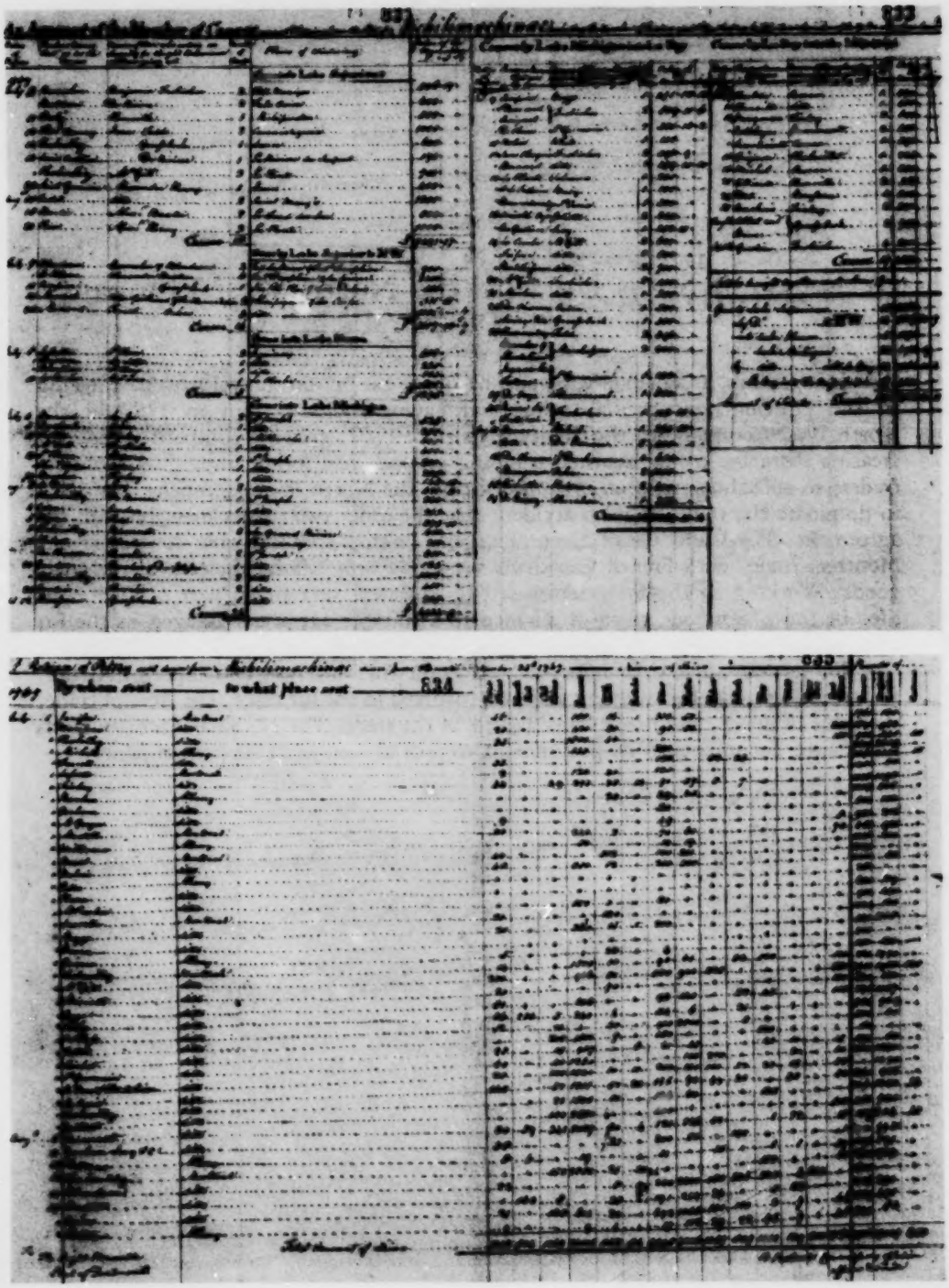
These informative tables prepared in 1767 by the Commissary of Indian Affairs at Fort Michillimackinac on upper Lake Michigan tell much about the fur traders who operated from Montreal, their sponsors, cargoes, destinations and the value of their furs.

The Montreal fur traders travelled via the Great Lakes and westwards to the Prairies. By the late 1760s they had reached to the Saskatchewan River. A number of traders, as the tables show, operated down the Mississippi deep into what is now the United States.

The many names listed emphasize that the Montreal trade was composed in this period of a number of small, independent firms. The French dominated, but the number of English names underlines the growing Anglo-Saxon influence.

Furs were very important to the economy of Quebec. At this date, they were almost eighty per cent of its exports.

This document, like the 1775 census of Nova Scotia (see Item 19), came to the second Earl of Dartmouth for his information in his capacity as a British official concerned with the colonies. Both documents demonstrate the breadth and detail of matters in the colonies with which imperial officials were expected to concern themselves.



Returns relating to the fur trade, Michillimackinac, June–September, 1767. B. Roberts.

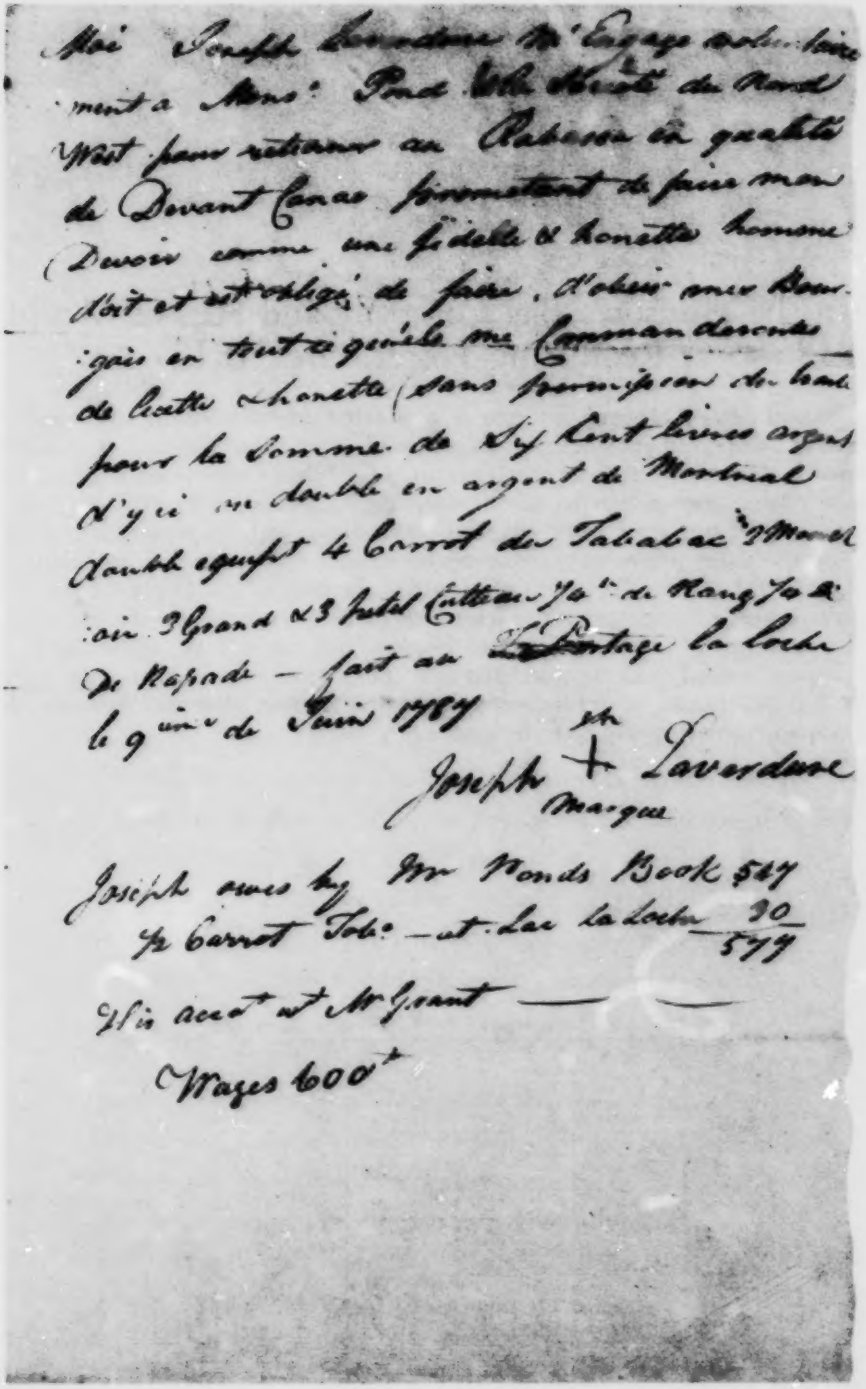
National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Dartmouth papers, MG 23, A 1, vol. 1, pp. 831–835.

VI

A Voyageur Signs Up with the North West Company, 1787

Joseph Laverdure, a Canadian voyageur, has made his "x" on this *engagement*, agreeing to the position, destination, terms and payment offered him in 1787 by the North West Company. In the twenty years since 1767, growing competition and increasing distances to unexhausted trapping grounds had forced individual Montreal traders to consolidate. A consortium of firms, the North West Company, had risen to dominate the trade. It is no accident that the other two names mentioned in the agreement, Pond and Grant, were English. English-speakers now controlled the Montreal trade, with French Canadians supplying only fifteen per cent of the trade goods. Working in the fur trade was still, however, very much part of Québécois life. In the 1780s, one third of all men of a suitable age were engaged in the fur trade at some time.

Engagements such as this one, as well as fur trade licences and export statistics, are valuable sources for studying who was involved in the fur trade, the areas of trade, the value of goods, and many other aspects of the trade. The National Archives holds many such documents in its government records as well as in its private papers.



Moi Joseph Laverdure M^r Engagé volontairement a Mess^rs Pond & Mackay du Nord Ouest pour retourner au Rabaska en qualité de Devant Canot promettant de faire mon Devoir comme un fidelle & honnette homme doit et est obligé de faire, d'obeir entierement en tout ce qu'elle me Commandera durant le Cours de ladite Engagement dans Lequel je dois rester pour la Somme de Six Cent livres argent d'y ci en double en argent de Montreal double equipt 4 Carrot de Tabac 1 Manteau 3 Grand & 3 petit Cotton 1 p^r de Bas 1 p^r de Mocasin — fait au Portage la Loche le 9 ième de Juin 1787

Joseph + Laverdure
Marque

Joseph owes by Mr Ponds Book 547
1 Carrot Tobo — at Lac la Loche 30
577

Wages 600^t

Engagement of Joseph Laverdure as a voyageur with the North West Company, 9 June 1787.

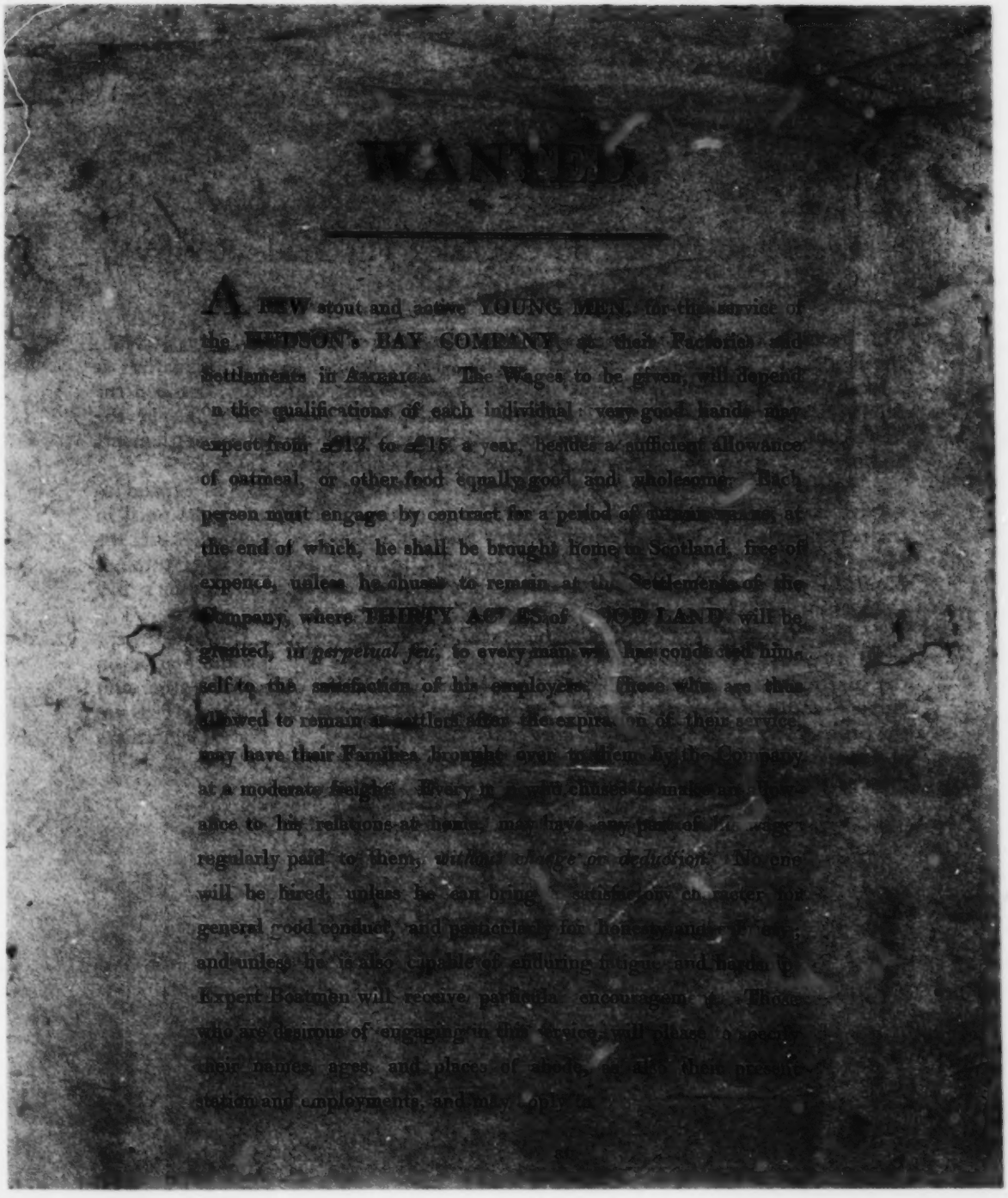
National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Charles Bell collection, MG 19, A 30, unpaginated.

VI

Join the Hudson's Bay Company and See the World: A Recruiting Poster, circa 1815

The Hudson's Bay Company, because it conducted its trade through Hudson and James Bays, imported its labour by ship directly from Great Britain. It sometimes recruited employees with posters such as this. Many were Orkneymen from northern Scotland. These young men found life with the Company exotic, challenging and often profitable, but their work was also demanding, with long periods at isolated posts and few if any prospects of returning home until the end of their working lives.

Unlike the looser associations of Montreal fur traders, the Hudson's Bay Company was a single company with at least a theoretical monopoly of the fur trade on all lands drained by rivers flowing into Hudson and James Bays. Until the 1770s, the Company tended to sit complacently at its posts on the shores of the bays waiting for the Indians to come to it. Increasing competition from Montreal, however, drew the Company more actively into the interior.



WANTED,

A FEW stout and active YOUNG MEN, for the service of the HUDSON's BAY COMPANY, at their Factories and Settlements in America. The Wages to be given, will depend on the qualifications of each individual: very good hands may expect from £12 to £15 a year, besides a sufficient allowance of oatmeal, or other food equally good and wholesome. Each person must engage by contract for a period of three years, at the end of which, he shall be brought home to Scotland, free of expence, unless he chuses to remain at the Settlements of the Company, where THIRTY ACRES of GOOD LAND will be granted, in *perpetual fee*, to every man who has conducted himself to the satisfaction of his employers. Those who are thus allowed to remain as settlers after the expiration of their service, may have their Families brought over to them by the Company at a moderate freight. Every man who chuses to make an allowance to his relations at home, may have any part of his wages regularly paid to them, *without charge or deduction*. No one will be hired, unless he can bring satisfactory testimonials of his general good conduct, and particularly for honesty and sobriety; and unless he is also capable of enduring fatigue, and hardship. Expert Boatmen will receive particular encouragement. Those who are desirous of engaging in this service, will please to specify their names, ages, and places of abode; and also their present station and employments, and may apply to

Advertisement for recruits for the Hudson's Bay Company. Early nineteenth-century broadside.

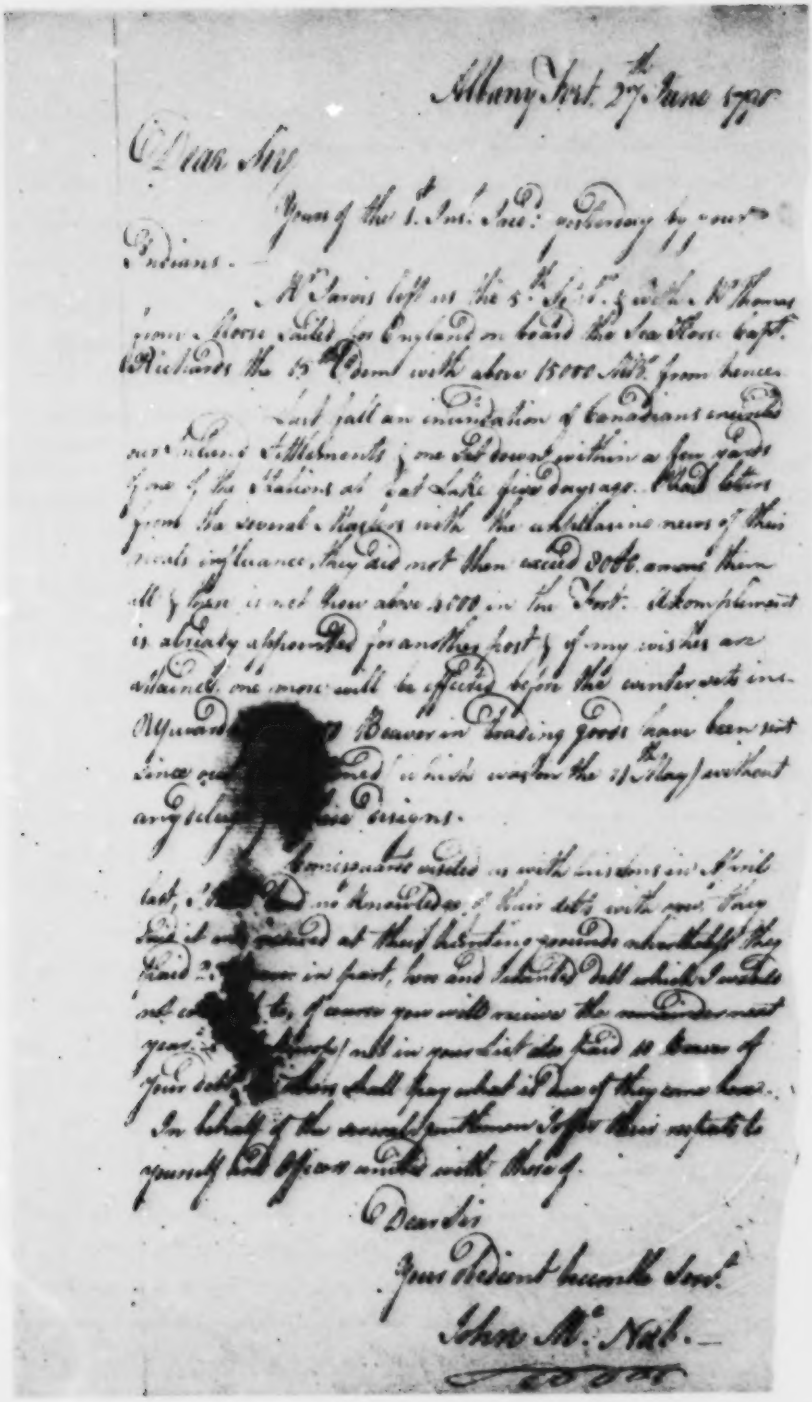
National Archives of Canada: Library (Negative no. C-125856).

Eyeball to Eyeball on Cat Lake: Fur Trade Rivalry Intensifies, 1790

This letter, a copy in a fur trade post journal, was written in 1790 by John McNab, the Hudson's Bay Company factor at Albany Fort on Hudson Bay. It dramatizes at a local level the increasingly fierce and sometimes violent competition between the Montreal and the Hudson Bay fur empires. McNab conveys to his colleague the unwelcome news that "an inundation of Canadians encircled our Inland settlements and one sat down within a few yards of one of the stations at Cat Lake. . . ."

Rising costs and depleting fur resources meant the rivals had to expand to survive, and they engaged in a trade war, leap-frogging each other's posts until in the next decade they had pushed through to the Pacific slope. At enormous cost, the Montreal trade won the race. By 1800, the number of furs that passed through Montreal was more than four times the number received by the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Hudson's Bay Company required that detailed journals like this one be kept at all its posts. The journals are now invaluable sources not only for information on the fur trade, but on native peoples, local flora and fauna, diseases, weather and climate, and a host of other topics. Indeed, the Hudson's Bay Company records are the principal source for the early history of the Canadian West. The National Archives of Canada holds microfilm copies of the Hudson's Bay Company records to 1870; most of the originals are in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba.



Albany Fort 27th June 1790

Dear Sir

Yours of the 1st Inst. Inc: returning by your Indians.

M.r Jarvis left us the 5th Inst. & with M.r Thomas Moore sailed for England on board the Sea Horse Capt. Richards the 15th Inst. with above 15000 Skins from hence

Last fall an inundation of Canadians entered our inland Settlements & one Det.t went within a few yards of one of the Natives at Eat Lake four days ago. Their Letters from the several Stations with the unbecoming news of their small influence, they did not then exceed 2000 among them all & soon is not now above 1800 in the Dist.t Accomplishment is already observed for another Year & if my wishes are attained one more will be sufficient upon the same establishment. My guard [illegible] Beaver in trading goods have been sent since your departure & which makes the 15th May without any [illegible] Indians.

The Commissaries visited us with their usual Spirit last [illegible] no Rewards & their Ltrs with your Invoice I only received at their Departure reminds us that they stand [illegible] Beaver in part, two and Islands Bill which I take not [illegible] to, I am sure you will receive the same next year [illegible] will in your List the Paid in Beaver of your debts [illegible] shall pay what is due of them same Year.

In behalf of the several Gentlemen I hope this will find you & Officers smiles with those of

Dear Sir

Your Obedt humble Servt

John M.c Nab.

Letter, John McNab to John Ballanden, Albany Fort, 27 June 1790, Severn House Journal.

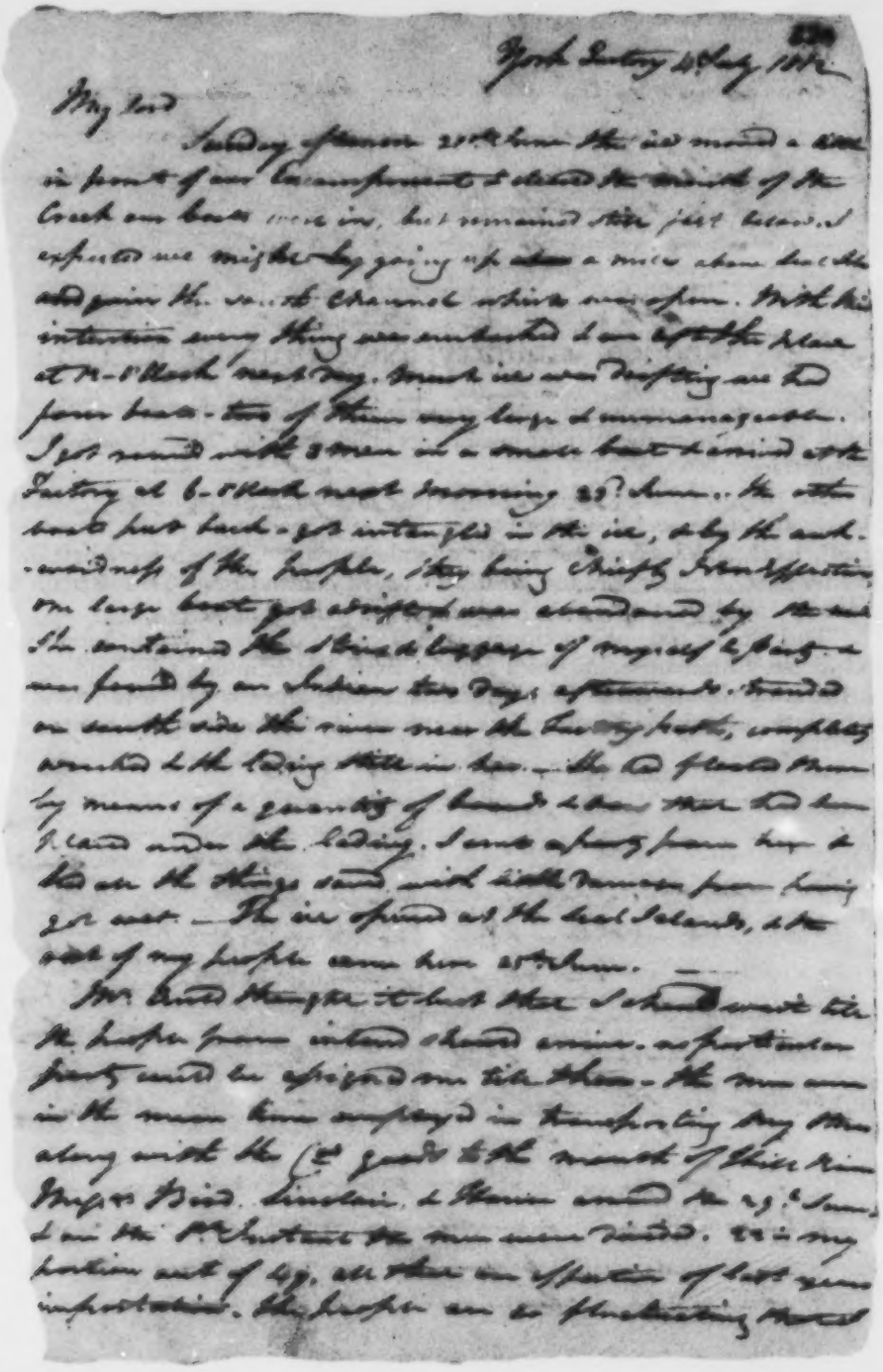
National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, MG 19, D 2, vol. 3, unpaginated.

The Founding of the Red River Colony, 1812

Miles McDonnell (1767–1828) penned this letter to his sponsor, Lord Selkirk, just before leaving York Factory on Hudson Bay with a small band of Scottish settlers. These settlers would establish a colony, called Red River, near the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, from which the modern province of Manitoba would arise. The settlement was a plan of Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk (1771–1820), who had gained a controlling interest in the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Red River Colony, set in the heart of territory that the North West Company considered its own preserve, further increased tensions between the companies.

McDonnell's letter is his personal copy of record that he wrote in his letter book, a practice common until the beginning of the twentieth century.



York Factory 4th July 1812

My Lord

Sunday afternoon 21st June the ice moved a little in front of our Encampment & closed the mouth of the Creek on board which we were, but remained stationary till next day. I expected we might be obliged to go up above a mile above the Fort and gain the usual Channel which was often. With this intention every thing was embarked & on the Ice at 8 o'Clock next day. Much ice was drifting and we had some hard tugs, two of them very large & unmanageable. I got round with 8 men in a small boat & arrived at the Factory at 6 o'Clock next morning 22d June. The other boats had hard work & got entangled in the ice, & by the awkwardness of the people, they being chiefly Orkneymen & Servants on large boats got adrift & were abandoned by the crew. She contained the Bird & baggage of myself & Servants & was found by an Indian two days afterwards. I found on my arrival the ice was near the factory beach, completely wedged & the lading little in dry. The Ice floated them by means of a quantity of boards & spars that had been placed under the lading. I was always from bed & board on the things until with little interval from having got wet. The ice opened at the head Islands, & the rest of my people came down 25th June.

Mr Laird thought it best that I should meet the people from inland should arrive, as part of the party could be employed on the Bay. The men were in the mean time employed in transporting my Baggage along with the Co's goods to the mouth of Hayes River. Bird, Sinclair, & Pritchard arrived 29th June & on the 1st instant the men were divided. 22 in my division out of 49, all others on speculation of last year imported. The people are in fine cheering spirits

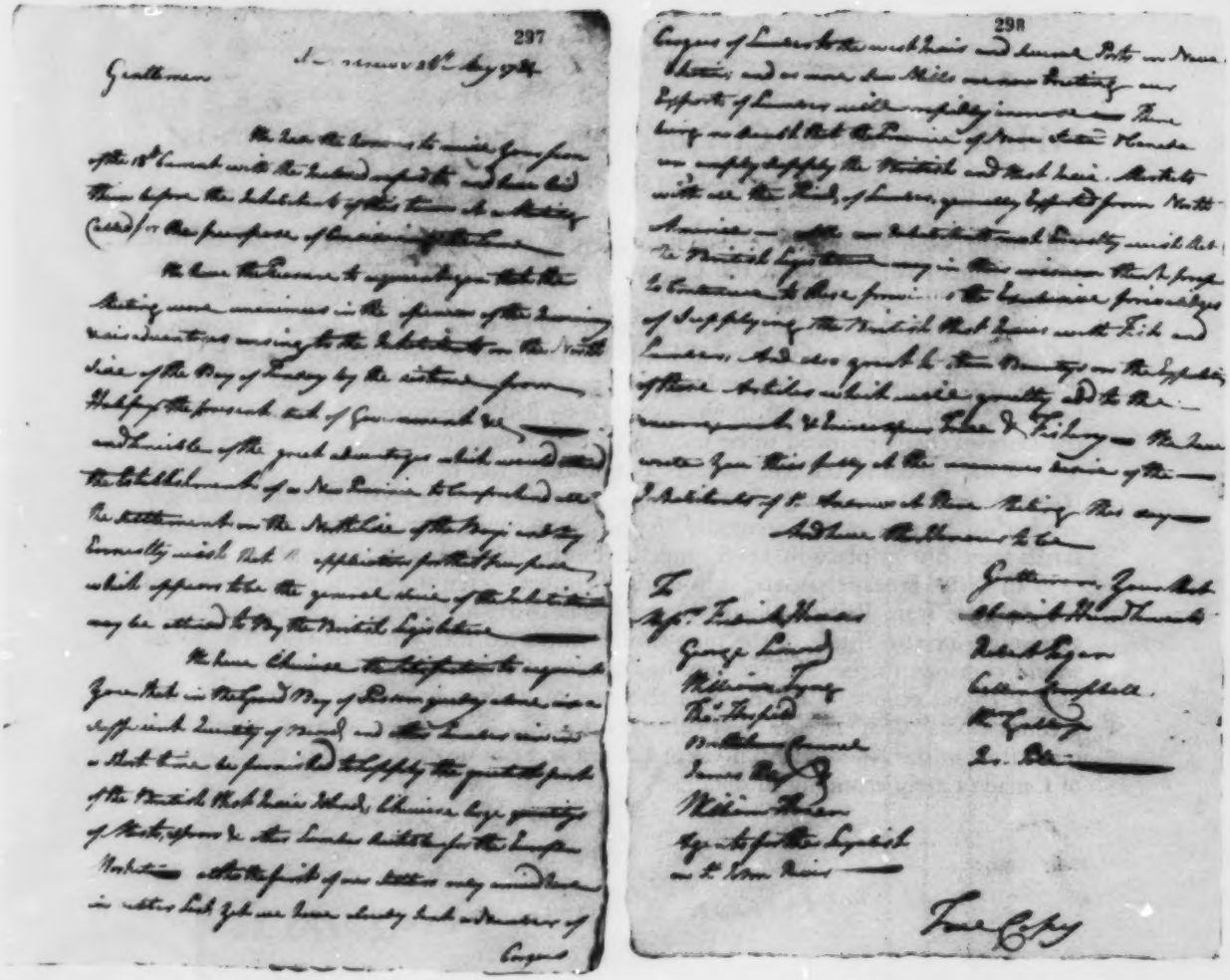
VI

A "Wooden" Country: New Brunswick, 1784

British North America's early colonists were well aware of the value of her forests, as this petition from the Loyalist inhabitants of St. Andrews, New Brunswick, clearly demonstrates.

All the colonies engaged in lumbering, producing squared timber, boards and planks, and staves and hoops for barrels. The early market for timber, however, was mainly local, and development was small-scale and without much specialization. Two decades later, a major war and greatly increased demand from Great Britain would suddenly and dramatically turn lumbering into a major industry.

This official copy of a petition comes from the papers of Ward Chipman senior and junior. Chipman senior was a Loyalist from Massachusetts who held important posts during the American Revolution. Both father and son held a variety of offices in New Brunswick, and their papers deal with an extensive range of topics.



Representation of Fredrick Houser et al., St. Andrews [New Brunswick], 26 May 1784 [clerical copy].

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Chipman Family papers, MG 23, D 1, Series 1, vol. 10, pp. 297–298.

VI

Hull to Québec City or Bust: The Lumber Boom is Born, 1806

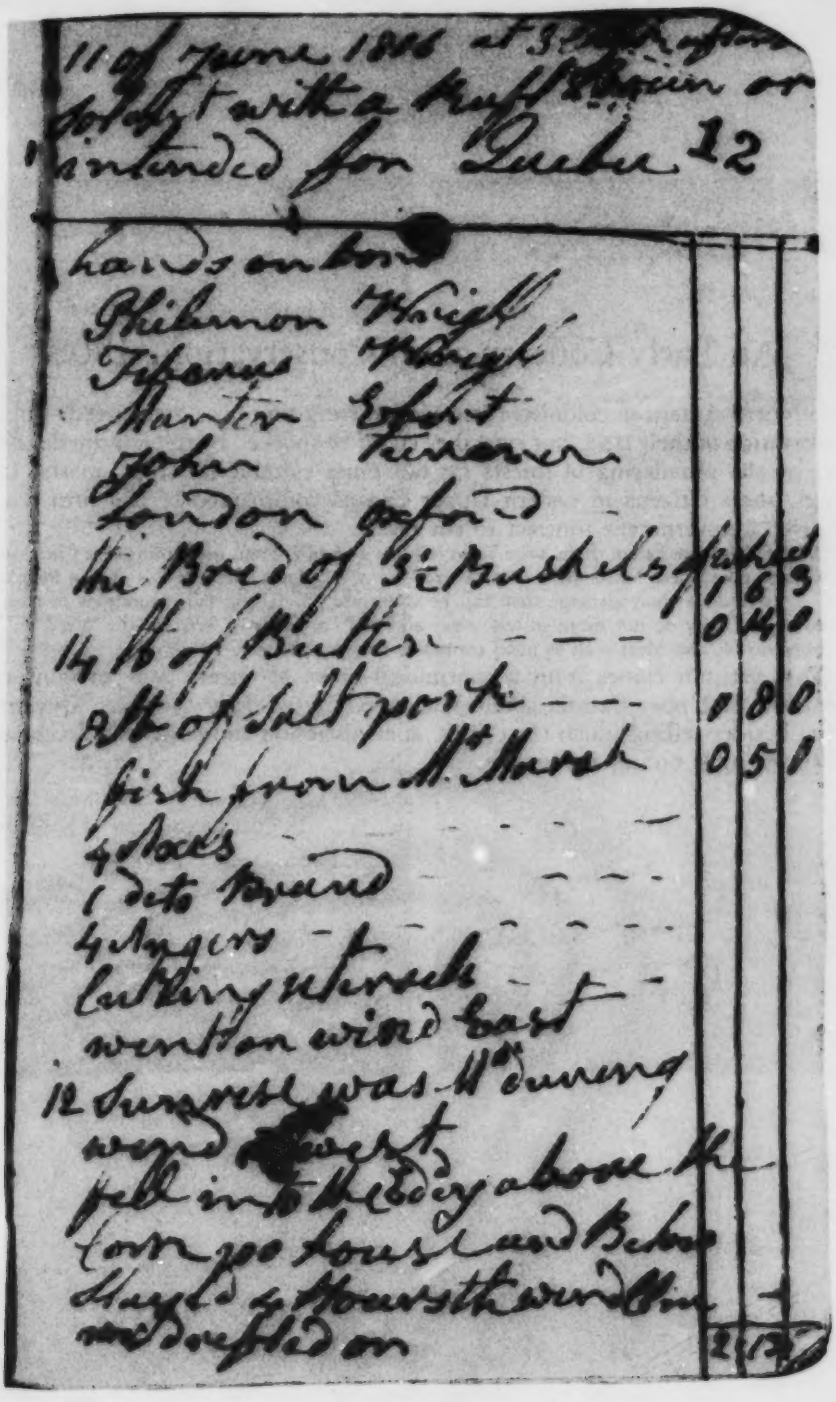
This little book, although not very impressive at first sight, tells the tale of the first raft of timber to pass down the Ottawa River, bound for Québec City under the pilotage of Philemon Wright (1761–1839).

Wright records that he peddled his wares as he went. On 12 June, for instance, he noted that he sold "450 pces of bords to the priest of South Buck parrish at six dolers per hundred." He had a long and anxious time in Québec City "a-waitin" before he finally sold his raft in October, but he had pioneered a route for timber on the Ottawa that continued to be used until only a few years ago.

What probably induced Wright's venture in the first place were new British tariffs designed to encourage British North American timber production, increasingly needed by Britain in her struggles in the Napoleonic Wars. Even more attractive tariffs were put in place in 1808, and the lumber boom began in earnest.

In 1809, ninety thousand ship-loads of timber — ten ship-loads a day — crossed the Atlantic from British North America. The British American colonies suddenly accounted for two-thirds of the pine timber imported into Great Britain. The totals would continue to rise; the colonies had become Great Britain's lumberyard.

Personal economic records like this one of Philemon Wright — order books, account books, ledgers, business correspondence, and so on — exist in substantial quantities in the National Archives of Canada and can be used to study many aspects of Canada's early economy in detail.



Entry for 11–12 June 1806 from Philemon Wright's Raft Book.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Wright papers, MG 24, D 8, vol. 114, p. 12.

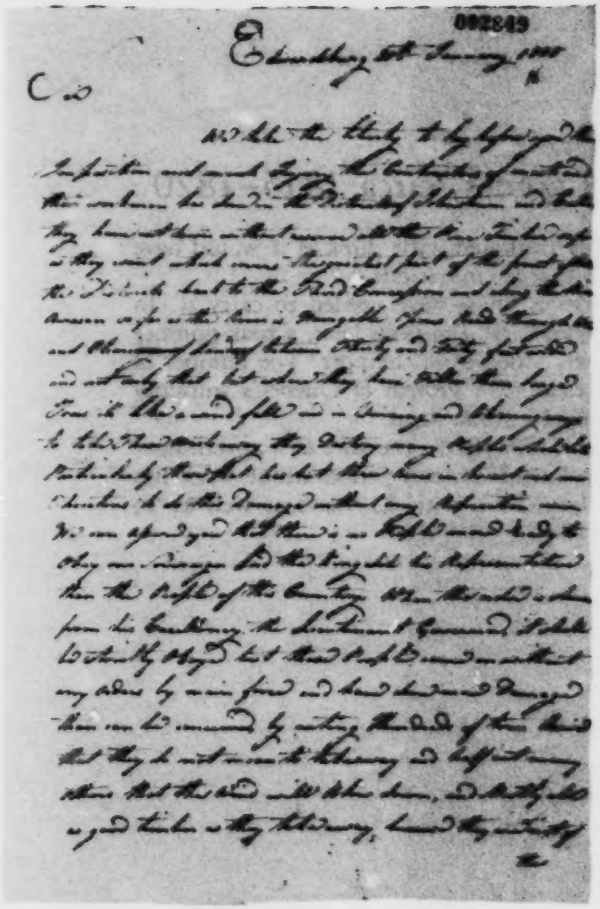
VI

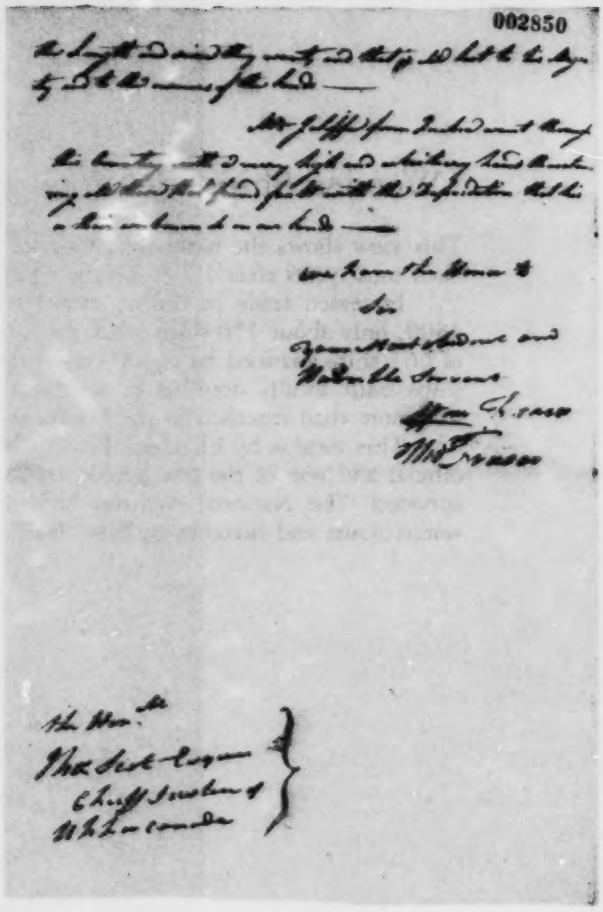
An Early Concern with Conservation, 1808

British North American colonists often viewed trees simply as giant weeds impeding the cultivation of their land, but even they could be shocked by the wanton devastation caused by the plundering of forests for tall pines suitable for ships' masts. In this petition, some citizens in eastern Upper Canada complained of one firm that had been given a government contract to cut masts:

> Where they have Fallen them large Trees it's like a wind fall and in Turning and Clearing ways to take These Masts away they Destroy many Peoples whole lots . . . Those People . . . have done more damage than can be conceived, by cuting [*sic*] Hundreds of trees down that they do not mean to take away and half cut many others that the Wind will Blow down, and Mostly all as good timber as they take away. . . .

This petition comes from a continuing series of letters and petitions to the government of Upper Canada about a wide variety of daily concerns. Government records, besides telling much of politics, administration and economic development, often throw light on day-to-day life.





Letter, William and Thomas Fraser to Thomas Scott, Chief Justice of Upper Canada, Edwardsburg, 20 January 1808.

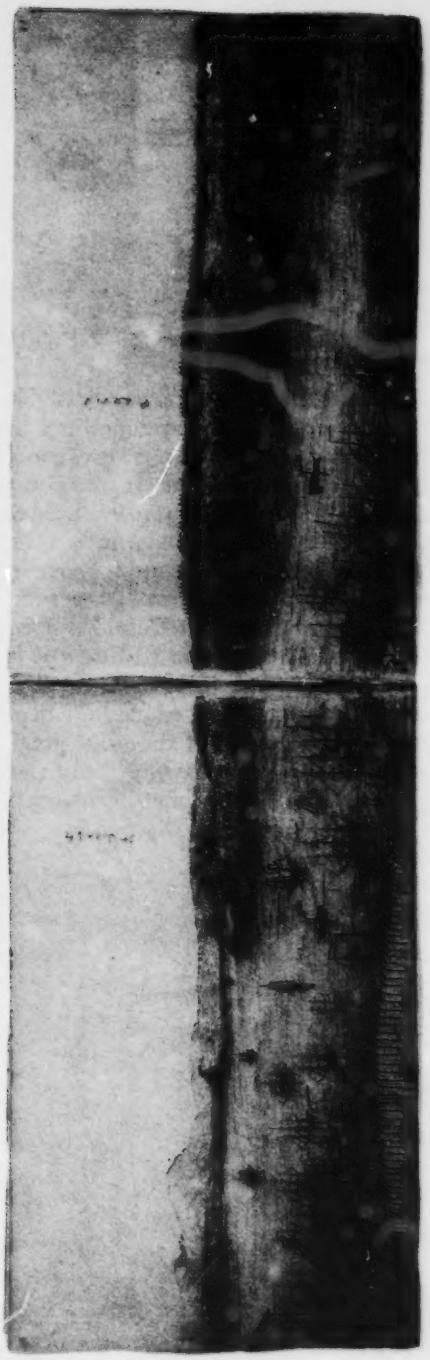
National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries, RG 5, A 1, vol. 7, pp. 2849–2850.

Wooden Ships for Wooden Cargoes, circa 1815–1820

This view shows the harbour at Québec City crammed with ships as it would have been most years after 1808. To the right is a large timber raft.

Increased trade in timber meant that more ships were needed to carry it. In 1800, only about 150 ships sailed from Québec City. Ten years later, a peak number of 661 ships manned by 6,600 crew members sailed from the port. The number of ships built locally doubled in the same decade. The growth of Quebec's shipping was more than matched in the Maritimes and Newfoundland.

This view is by Elizabeth Frances Hale (1774–1826), the wife of a government official and one of the few female artists in Canada in this period whose work has survived. The National Archives holds a sketchbook with 51 views as well as 14 watercolours and sketches by Mrs. Hale.



View of part of the lower town and harbour, Québec City. Elizabeth Frances Hale (1774–1826). Pen and ink, early 1800s. 12.8 × 20.6 cm. Folio. *In* Hale Sketchbook.

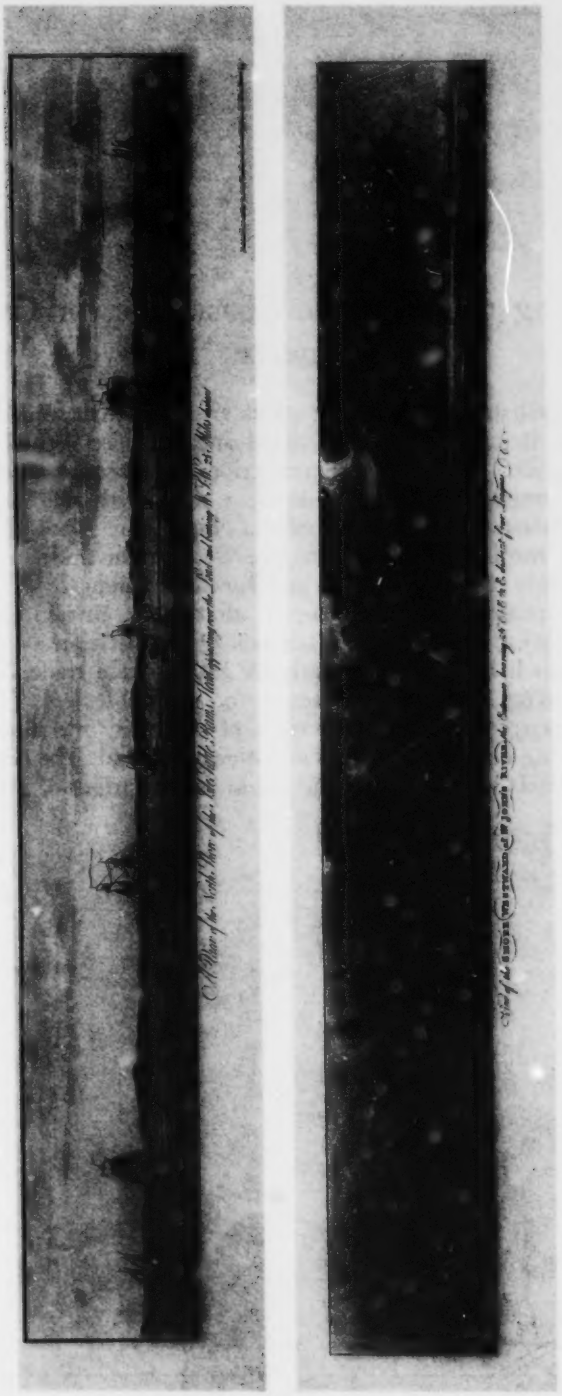
National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division, Hale Sketchbook, pp. 31–32 (Negative no. C-131287).

The Dawning of the Great Age of Sail, 1760–1815

Ships like these were a common sight in Canadian coastal waters between 1760 and 1815. The large three-masted vessel in the lower view is a fine example of a merchant ship of the mid-eighteenth century. The larger two-masted vessels are schooners, while the smaller vessels are probably shallops, small open or half-decked schooners.

In 1811, an impressive 1,300 vessels were registered as belonging to British North American colonists. Ship-building was generally a cottage industry, with small groups of men constructing a few ships in secure harbours or bays. These ships were used for fishing or coasting (short distance trade) between the colonies. Although the timber trade and growing commerce with the West Indies were a stimulant to larger-scale ship-building, most exports were still carried in British-built ships. For the Maritimes, the great age of sail was just beginning.

These two magnificent hand-coloured engravings depict ships at Sable Island, Nova Scotia, and on the shore westward of the Saint John River, New Brunswick, respectively. They are from DesBarres' *Atlantic Neptune* (see Item 8). In addition to its cartographic value, *The Atlantic Neptune* met high artistic standards.



A View of the North Shore of the Isle Sable Rams Head appearing over the Land and bearing W.S.W. 2½ Miles distant. J.F.W. DesBarres. London: J.F.W. DesBarres, 1 June, 1779. Aquatint with hand colouring. 13.3 × 72.0 cm.

Originally on sheet of five views of the Isle of Sable (East End). London, 1 June 1779.

View of the Shore Westward of the St. John's River the Entrance bearing NEbE½E distant four Leagues. London: J.F.W. DesBarres. Aquatint with hand colouring. 15.5 × 74.0 cm.

Originally on undated sheet of three views, circa December 1780. Earlier state of view appeared as one of five views on sheet dated 26 July 1777.

In J.F.W. DesBarres. *Surveys of North America Entitled The Atlantic Neptune* . . . . London: J.F.W. DesBarres, 1775–1781.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative nos. C-40972 and C-40973).

VI

Making the Atlantic Coast Safe for Canadian Commerce, 1806

In this chart a British naval squadron stalks enemy French warships off the coast of North America. Britain's wars both aided and impeded British North America's maritime commerce. Under British protection and encouragement, the Maritimes had tried with limited success to build up a trade with the West Indies after the American Revolution. The outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars with France induced Britain to allow the United States into the West Indies trade, a move that quickly decimated the trade of the Maritimes and Newfoundland.

Because of its aid to France, however, after 1808, Britain excluded the United States from the West Indies trade. This lack of competition as well as new British inducements, which had begun as early as 1803, made trade from British North America to the West Indies very attractive and profitable.

This manuscript chart plots the track of the *Hero*, one ship in a Royal Naval squadron patrolling between Barbados and Newfoundland. The chart marks locations where neutral vessels were boarded, and the known positions of the French squadron.

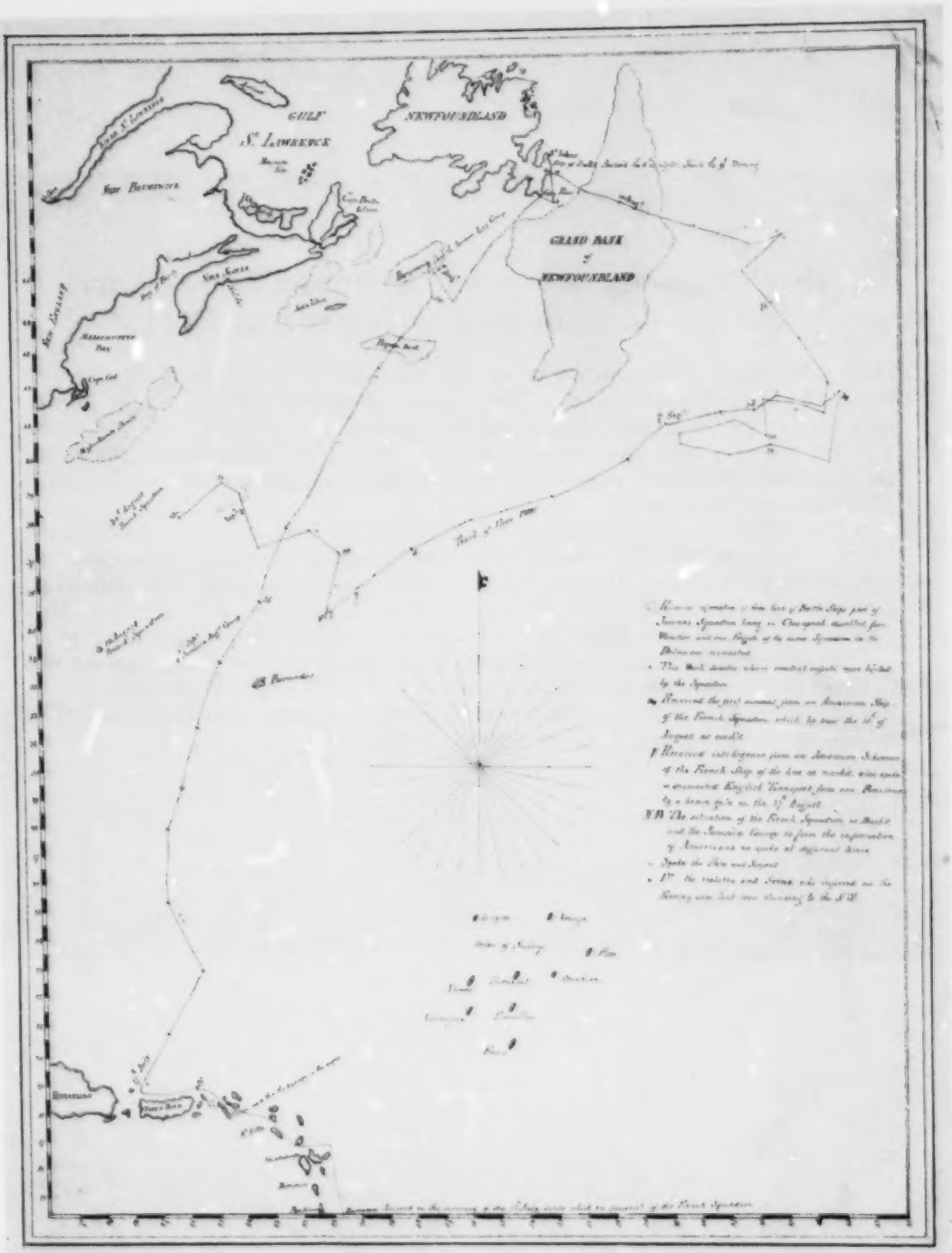


Chart of the track of the *Hero*, 1806.
Cartographer unknown. Map:
manuscript, hand-coloured, circa 1806.
47.0 × 34.8 cm.

National Archives of Canada:
Cartographic and Architectural Archives
Division (NMC 6752).

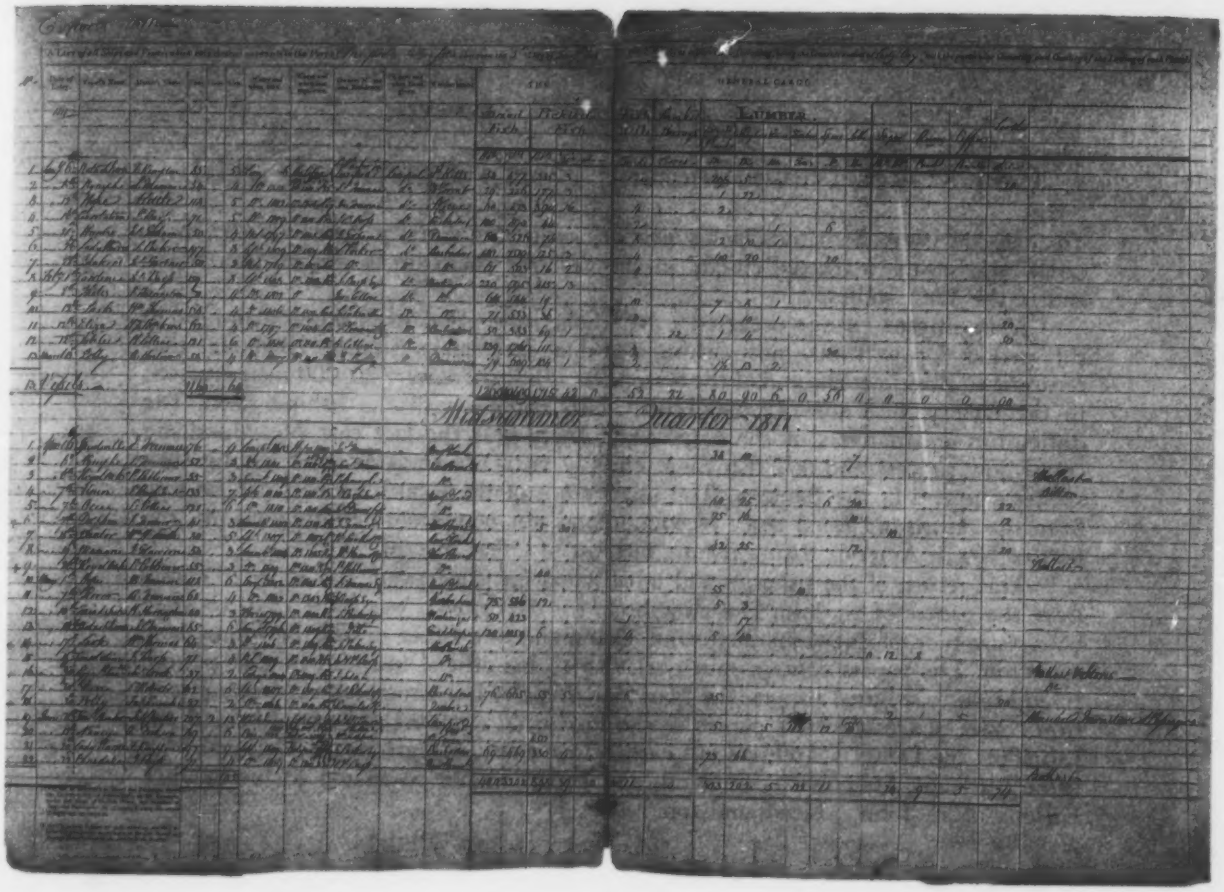
A Busy Shipping Season for Liverpool, Nova Scotia, and the Beginnings of a Millionaire, 1811

From this register, a clear picture of the shipping trade of a moderate-sized port — Liverpool, Nova Scotia — emerges. The register provides information on the ships, their size, crews, ownership, destinations and cargoes.

The majority were small ships, locally built and owned. Trade was chiefly with the West Indies in fish (used as cheap food for slaves on plantations there) and lumber. The local coastal trade was second in importance.

One of the Liverpool shipowners (number 12 on the first list), Enos Collins (1774–1871), was reputed at his death in 1871 to be the richest man in Canada, with an estate worth six million dollars. Collins was one of twenty-six children. Lacking much formal education, he went to sea at an early age as a cabin boy. He was captain of a schooner before he was twenty and quickly became part-owner of a number of vessels trading out of Liverpool. With profits he made from shipping in the War of 1812, Collins invested in a number of other business enterprises.

Registers such as this one were kept in ports by customs officials to aid in the calculation and collection of customs duties.



List of Vessels Cleared Outwards from Liverpool, Nova Scotia, 5 January–5 April 1811. Entry in Liverpool, Nova Scotia, Customs Register.

National Archives of Canada: Government Archives Division, Records of the Department of National Revenue, RG 16, A 2, vol. 525, unpaginated.

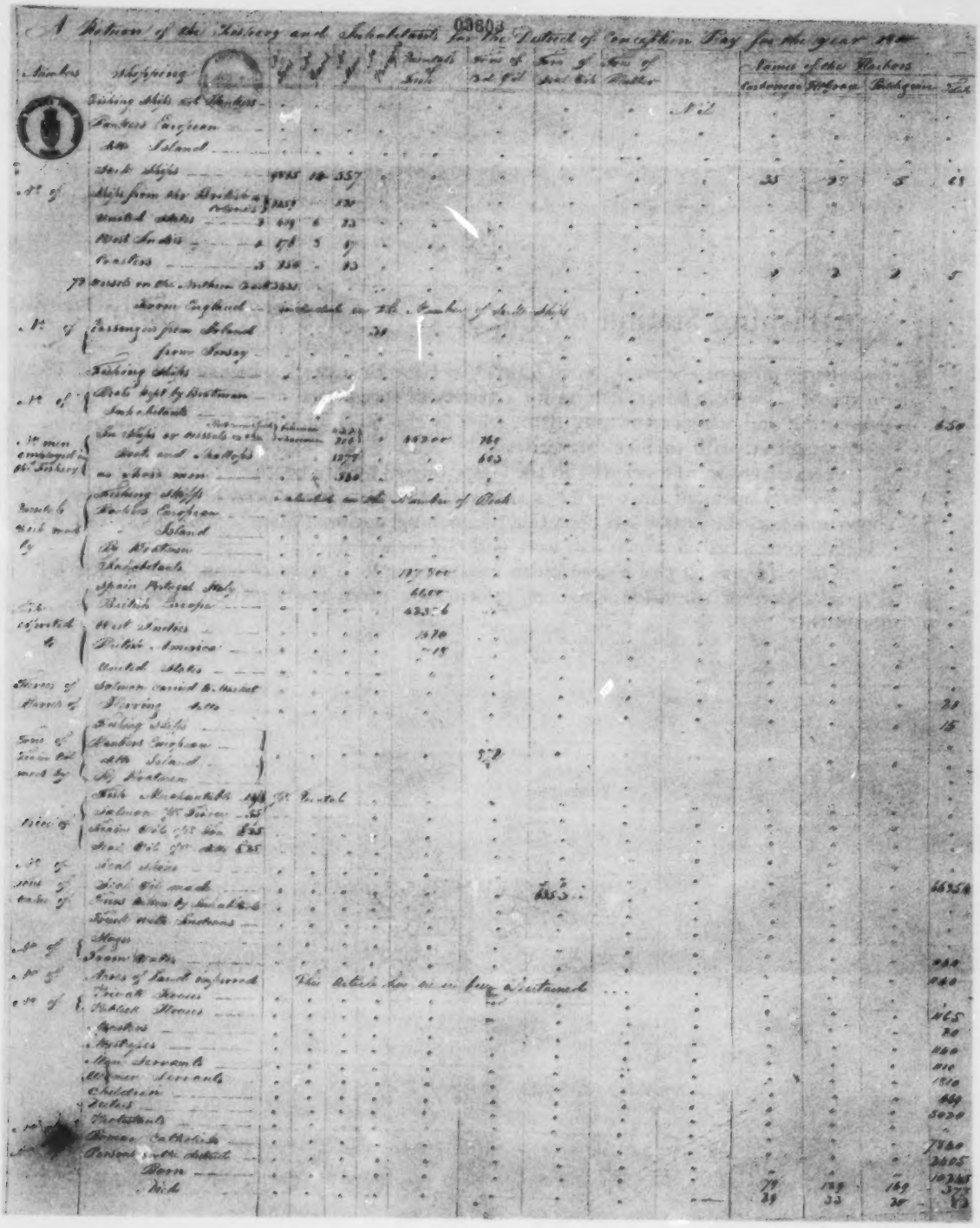
VI

Cod Makes Newfoundland North American, 1810

The fisheries were Newfoundland's primary economic activity. Cod was the main catch, and it was marketed chiefly in the Catholic countries of the Mediterranean and in the West Indies.

A significant change occurred in the fisheries — and in Newfoundland — in this period. Up to 1800, most fishing was done from trans-Atlantic "Bankers" that returned to Britain at the end of the season. In 1788, there were 20,000 men involved in the fishery, of whom 12,000 returned to Britain with the fishing fleet. The difficulties and dangers of the Napoleonic Wars plus the fact that Newfoundland could now process and sell fish more cheaply than the trans-Atlantic fishing fleet spelled the end of the Bankers. The importance of the local schooners can be seen from the return displayed here. Newfoundland was now more definitely an integral part of North America than a fishing outpost of Great Britain.

This return of the fisheries and inhabitants for Conception Bay in 1810 comes from the papers of Sir John Duckworth (1748–1817), who was from 1810 to 1813 both Governor of Newfoundland and Commander-in-Chief of the Newfoundland squadron. His papers contain much relating to his official business in that period. In addition to original papers, the National Archives has assembled extensive microfilm copies of Duckworth's papers in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador; the Douglas Archives of Queen's University, Kingston; the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England; and papers in the possession of Justice R.S. Furlong of St. John's, Newfoundland.



A Return of the Fishery and Inhabitants for the District of Conception Bay for the year 1810

Numbers	Shipping	Tons	Men	Boys	Vessels built	Tons of Built	Tons of Sail Built	Tons of Sail Bld	Tons of Fishery		Names of the Harbors Carbonear	Harbour Grace	Bridgeport	Total
	Fishing Ships not Employed									Nil				
	Bankers Employed													
	Ditto Island													
	Sack Ships	9935	10	357							35	25	5	65
No. of	Ships from the Northward	3837		130										
	United States	649	6	23										
	West Indies	676	5	9										
	Coasters	3350		93										
	Vessels on the Northern Coast	3830									9	2	2	5
	Boats England													
No. of	Passengers from Ireland			20										
	from Jersey													
	Fishing Skiffs													
No. of	Boats kept by Boatmen													
	Inhabitants													
No. men employed in Fishery	Fish Ships or Vessels with Fishermen	Fishermen	232		44200	789								650
	Boats and Shallops		1279			605								
	no whose men		586											
Vessels & Boats made by	Fishing Skiffs	Included in the Number of Boats												
	Bankers Employed													
	Island													
	By Boatmen													
	Inhabitants													
Fish	Spain Portugal Italy				137500									
	British Europe				6000									
exported	West Indies				62356									
by	British America				1870									
	United States				19									
Barrels of	Salmon carried to Market													
Barrels of	Herring &c													20
	Fishing Skiffs													15
Seals Oil	Bankers Employed					577								
Seals Oil	Ditto Island													
made by	By Boatmen													
	Fish Merchantable	198	Qr.	Intal										
	Salmon Qr. Barrels	55												
Barrels of	Herring Oil Qr. Barrels	535												
	Seal Oil Qr. Barrels	135												
No. of	Seal skins													
Tons of	Seal Oil made							635						46350
casks of	Casks Staves by Inhabitants													
	Vessels made Boatmen													
	Hoops													
No. of	Boats Punts													180
No. of	Acres of Land cultivated	This Article does not form a part of the Settlement												180
No. of	Private Houses													
	Public Houses													165
	Captains													20
	Mistresses													160
	Men Servants													110
	Women Servants													1810
	Children													669
	Males													5020
No. of	Protestants													
No. of	Roman Catholicks													7180
No. of	Persons under													2405
	Born													10245
	Died										79	129	169	377
											29	33	30	93

Return of the Fishery and Inhabitants of Conception Bay, Newfoundland, 1810.

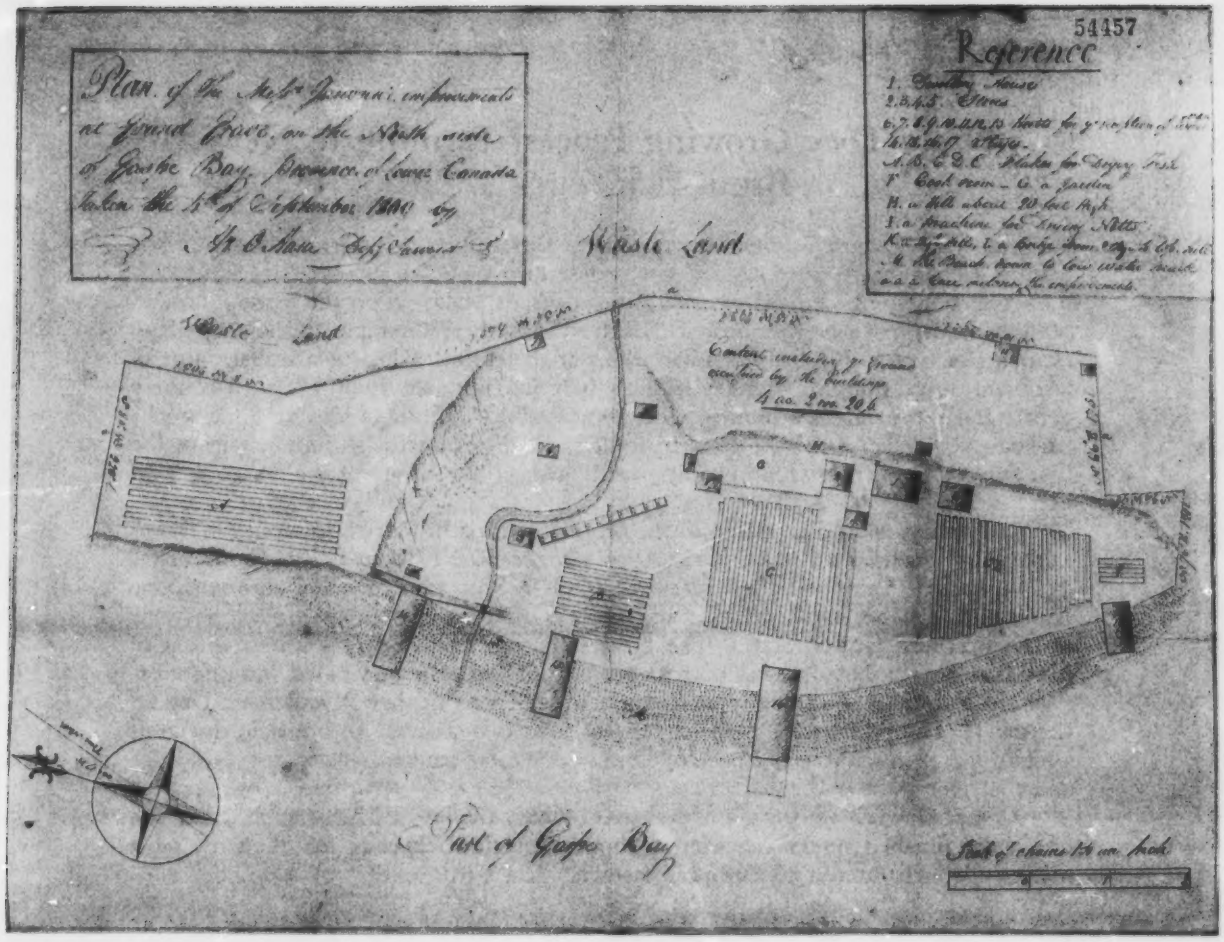
National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Duckworth papers, MG 24, A 45, p. 3603.

A Fishing Station on the St. Lawrence River, 1809

Elsewhere, off south-western Nova Scotia, in New Brunswick's Bay of Fundy, and up the St. Lawrence River, fishing for a variety of species was also important. Large fish-curing and schooner-owning firms such as the St. John's firms and the Robin interests mixed with smaller enterprises.

A moderate-sized enterprise in the Gaspé owned by two brothers from the Island of Jersey and operated since 1792 is shown in the plan reproduced here. The plan shows in detail the layout and operation of a fishing station. "Stages" were docks and "flakes" were racks on which fish were laid out for drying.

The plan was part of a petition to government for a grant of land — a further demonstration of the wide range of information often contained in government documents.


54457
Reference
Plan of the Mess.rs Janvrins improvements at Grand Cove, on the North side of Gaspe Bay, province of Lower Canada taken the 4th of September 1809 by
Hy. O'Hara Dep.y Surveyor
Waste Land
Waste Land
Contains exclusive of Ground occupied by the buildings
4 ac. 2 roo. 20 p.
Part of Gaspe Bay

Plan of Messrs. Janvrins' Improvements of Grand Cove, Gaspé. Hy. O'Hara Deputy Surveyor. Pen and ink, 4 September 1809.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Lower Canada. Land Petitions and Related Records, 1657–1842. RG 1, L 3 L, vol. 111, p. 54457.

Were They Growing Fences? Farming in New Brunswick, circa 1790

Farming was the most common occupation in British North America, with approximately 80 per cent of the population engaged in it on a full or part-time basis.

This engraving demonstrates farming methods practised on the Saint John and Nashwaak Rivers in New Brunswick in the 1790s. It is a composite showing many elements of typical English-Canadian farms of the period. There is a realistic line of farm buildings, ranging from a settler's first log hut (see Item 14) to a country gentleman's mansion (see Item 8) with associated out-buildings for crops and stock, backed by the ever-present forest. In front, a field beset with stumps left from the first stages of clearing is improbably partitioned with a variety of the fences then in use.

This print is an illustration in the original edition of Patrick Campbell's *Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792* (Edinburgh, 1793). Patrick Campbell (fl. 1760–1823) was a Scot who travelled through New Brunswick, Quebec and Upper Canada as far as Niagara, as well as through portions of the northern United States. The greatest part of the *Travels* is a description of New Brunswick. The drawing on which the print was primarily based was undoubtedly made locally — possibly by Campbell's talented nephew, Lieutenant Dugald Campbell. The print is a composite from at least two sources, with a field drawn as a rectilinear plan without perspective dividing the more realistic line of farm buildings and the river scene.

Campbell may well have had a sketch by himself inserted between two sections of a more finished sketch in order to show the various types of fences in use — a matter of much interest to European farmers.

Plan of an American New Cleared Farm. Attributed to Dugald Campbell. Engraved by McIntyre. Plan: engraved, 1793. 33.0×24.5 cm.

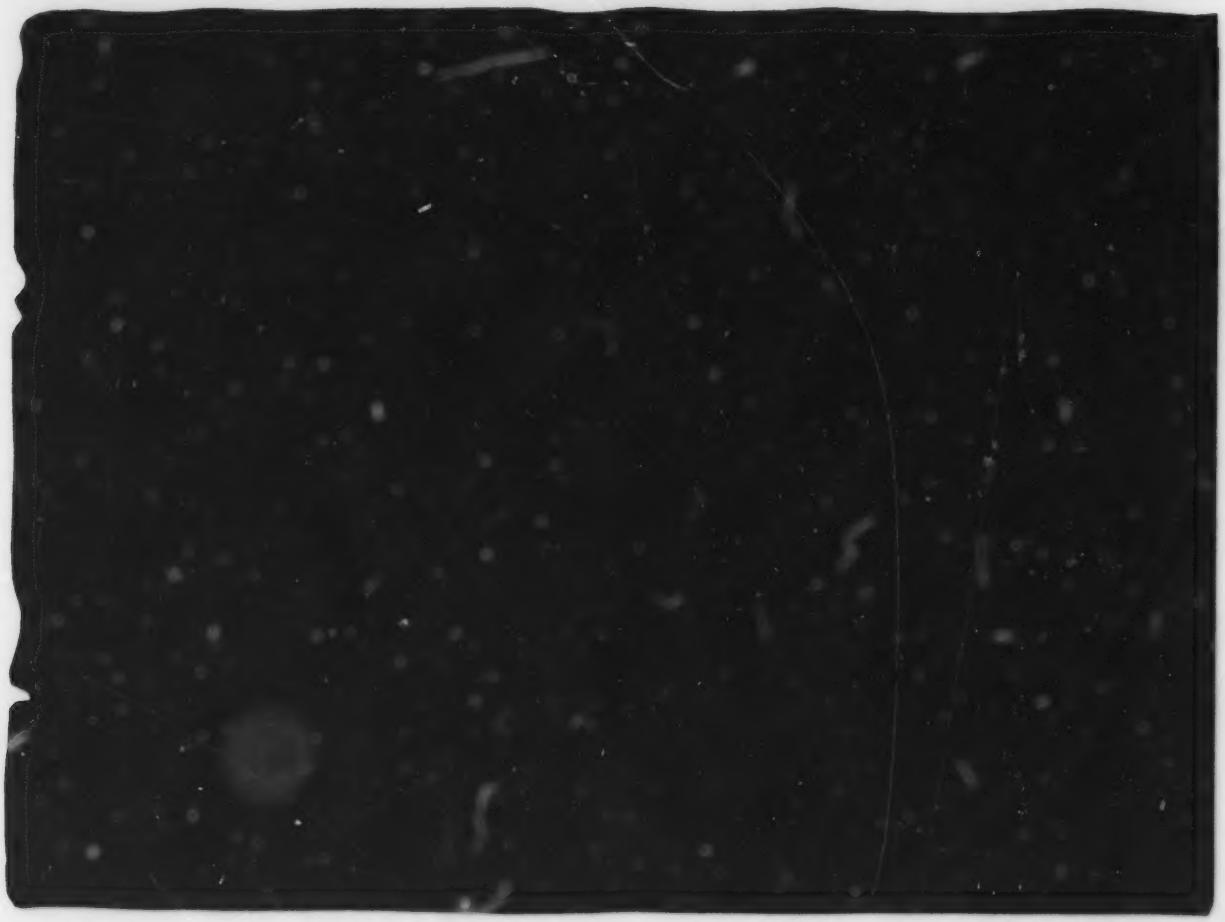
In Patrick Campbell, *Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792*. Edinburgh: 1793, facing p. 86.

National Archives of Canada: Library (Negative no. C-130548).

Patterns on the Land: French-Canadian Agriculture, 1795

In Quebec, wheat was the main crop, matching fur in export value by 1800. In this plan of 1795, the French-Canadian land system can be seen in the seigneury of Sorel, with its long narrow farms arranged in ranges along rivers and streams.

Land under cultivation in Quebec expanded rapidly, especially after 1795 when British markets opened to Canadian produce. Agricultural exports, however, dropped sharply in the early nineteenth century, and wood rapidly replaced wheat as the chief export. There is much controversy about whether this drop represents a decline in agricultural production caused by unsuitable farming methods or a shift to supplying expanding internal markets because of an unstable international market.



"Map of His Majesty's Seigneurie of Sorel, situated in the county of Richelieu Province of Lower Canada . . . Surveyed in the year 1795 . . ." S.Z. Watson, Deputy Provincial Surveyor. Copy. E.J. Ford. Lieut. Royal Engineers Office, Québec. 26 February 1838. 130.0 × 225.5 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Cartographic and Architectural Archives Division (NMC 26944).

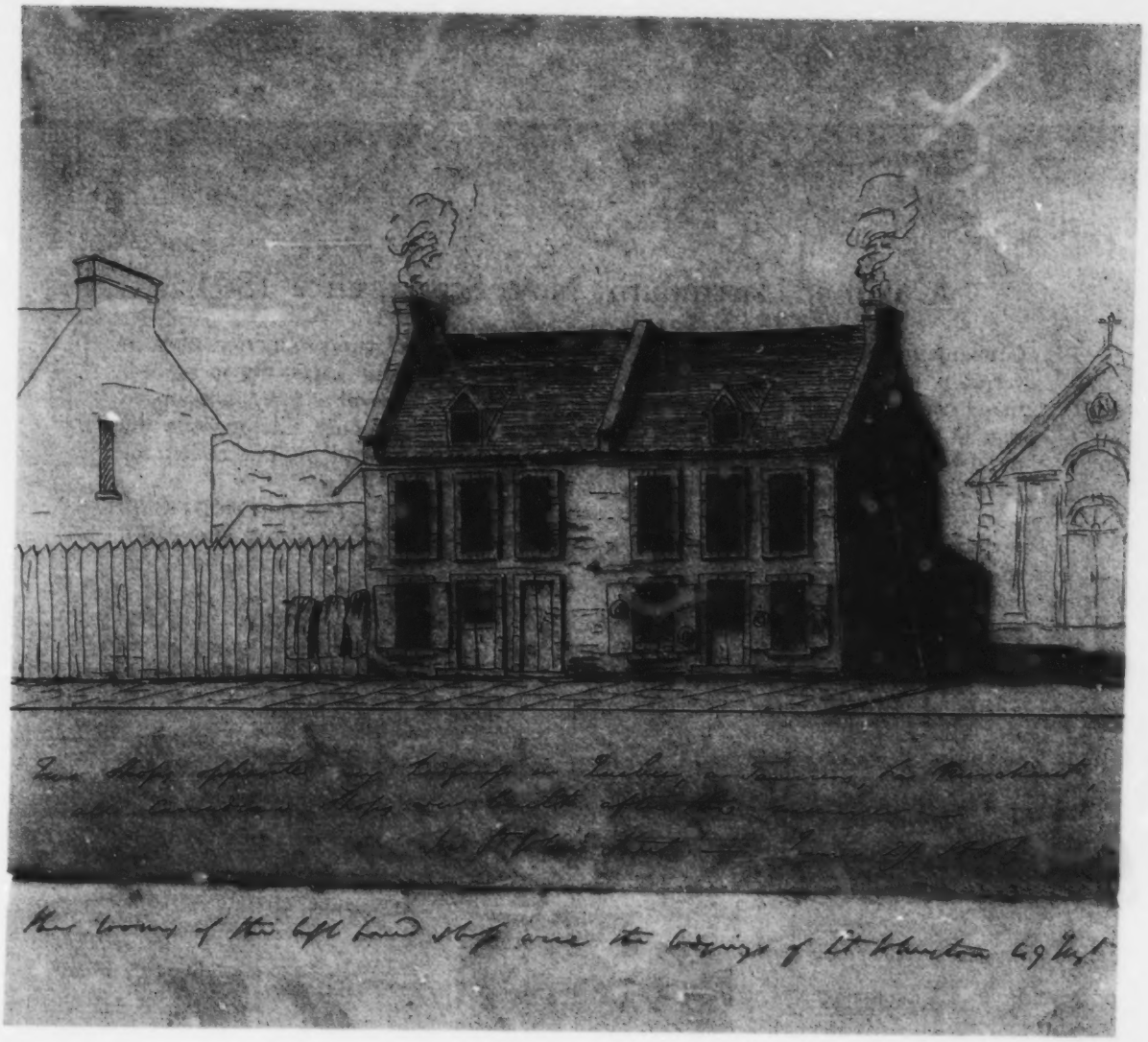
Merchant Shops in Québec City, 1806

These adjoining shops on St. John's Street (rue Saint-Jean), Québec City, were on the edge of the upper town, possibly in the new St. John suburb beyond the city walls. Both shops display their goods: the tanner has his hides strung on a line, while the general merchant exhibits his wares on his window ledge and shutters.

One general merchant advertising his stock in the *Quebec Mercury* for 30 June 1806 listed, among other items for sale, "loaf sugar and teas, muscatal and sun raisins, almonds and nuts, sauces and florence oil, single and double Gloucester cheese, hardware, stationery and perfumery . . . Dartford gun powder and patent shot & c. & c."

Merchants often lived above their shops or — as in the case of the tanner, as an inscription on this work indicates — rented upstairs rooms to others. Expanding agriculture, burgeoning exports and the resulting growth of towns and cities meant that these shops would increasingly have their equivalents across central and eastern British North America.

The artist, Sempronius Stretton (1781–1842), served in Canada between 1803 and 1806 with the 49th and the 40th Regiments of Foot. His pictures include views of York (Toronto), Lake Erie, Queenston and Quebec City. He executed many studies of Canadian birds — the earliest known — and of costume. The National Archives holds five watercolours by Stretton and a sketchbook with forty-three works, including the one displayed here.



"Two Shops opposite my Lodgings . . . "
Sempronius Stretton (1781–1842). Pen and ink with grey wash, 29 June 1806. 16.0 × 20.0 cm. Folio.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division, Stretton Sketchbook, vol. 1, p. 36 (Negative no. C-14834).

A Mill at Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, circa 1801

Growing population and increasing prosperity encouraged the production of such varied products as soap, paper, hats, metals, ships and flour, especially in or near major towns. The *Royal Gazette* published in Halifax, 5 September 1797, announced that Davis and Barker had erected a grist mill on the Dartmouth side opposite the naval hospital. They would be ready to receive grain by September. Barker left the business shortly thereafter.

Interesting details of the scene recorded by George Isham Parkyns (1750–1820) include the long trough constructed to lead water into the second storey of the mill to power the mill machinery and the two men to the right using a sawpit to cut planks by hand.

This print is "before letters," meaning it was produced to test the quality of the image before lettering was placed on the printing plate. Such an early impression from a plate yields the strongest and clearest image. The National Archives also holds a copy of this print done "after letters."

View of Halifax from Davis' Mill. George Isham Parkyns (1750–1820). London: April, 1801. Hand-coloured aquatint, in blue ink. 32.4 × 53.0 cm.

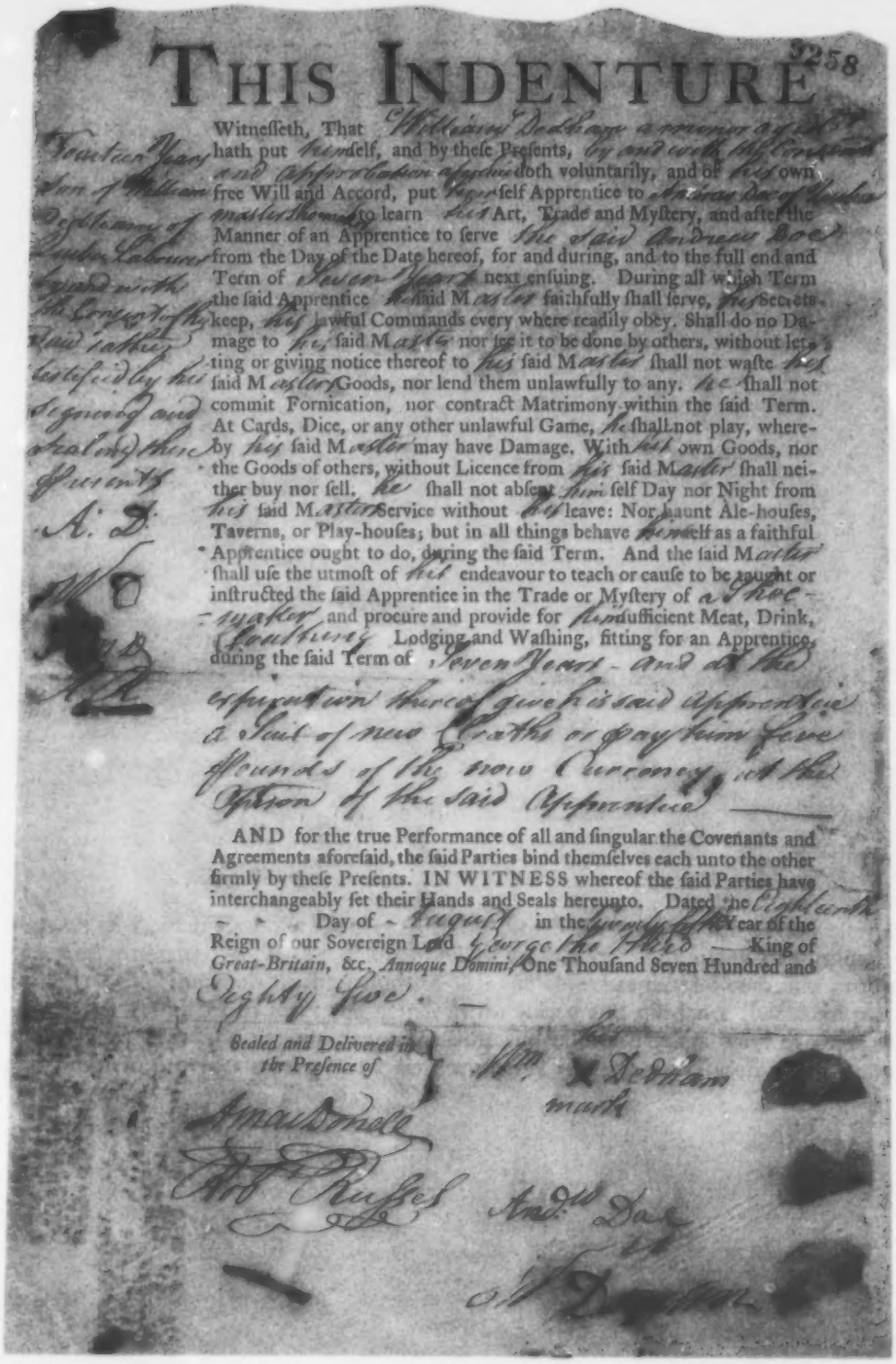
National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-985).

Child Slavery? An Apprentice's Indenture, 1785

In this indenture, a standard printed form with manuscript additions, William Dedham, son of a labourer, aged fourteen years, commits himself to Andrew Doe of Québec City in 1785 as an apprentice for seven years. In return for his labour, Dedham is to receive room and board, five pounds towards a new set of clothes at the end of his apprenticeship, and instruction in the "Art, Trade and Mystery" of shoemaking.

This indenture has more to say about the apprentice's morals than his duties. He is not to play at "Cards, Dice or any other unlawful Game," nor is he to "haunt Ale-houses, Taverns or Play-houses." With their long periods of unpaid labour, and their virtual lack of restrictions on the powers of the master, apprenticeship indentures of this period have been called little more than a form of slavery.

Other indentures, contracts, partnership agreements, and the like scattered through the collections of the National Archives tell much about conditions of labour and social relations in this period.



THIS INDENTURE

9258

Witneſſeth, That William Dedham a minor aged about Fourteen Years Son of William Dedham of London Labourer by and with the Conſent and Approbation of his Father doth voluntarily, and of his own free Will and Accord, put himſelf Apprentice to Andrew Doe of London master Shoemaker to learn his Art, Trade and Myſtery, and after the Manner of an Apprentice to ſerve the ſaid Andrew Doe from the Day of the Date hereof, for and during, and to the full end and Term of Seven Years next enſuing. During all which Term the ſaid Apprentice his ſaid Maſter faithfully ſhall ſerve, his Secrets keep, his lawful Commands every where readily obey. Shall do no Damage to his ſaid Maſter nor ſee it to be done by others, without letting or giving notice thereof to his ſaid Maſter ſhall not waſte his ſaid Maſter's Goods, nor lend them unlawfully to any. he ſhall not commit Fornication, nor contract Matrimony within the ſaid Term. At Cards, Dice, or any other unlawful Game, he ſhall not play, whereby his ſaid Maſter may have Damage. With his own Goods, nor the Goods of others, without Licence from his ſaid Maſter ſhall neither buy nor ſell. he ſhall not abſent himſelf Day nor Night from his ſaid Maſter's Service without his leave: Nor haunt Ale-houſes, Taverns, or Play-houſes; but in all things behave himſelf as a faithful Apprentice ought to do, during the ſaid Term. And the ſaid Maſter ſhall uſe the utmoſt of his endeavour to teach or cauſe to be taught or inſtructed the ſaid Apprentice in the Trade or Myſtery of a Shoe-maker and procure and provide for him ſufficient Meat, Drink, Cloathing Lodging and Waſhing, fitting for an Apprentice, during the ſaid Term of Seven Years - and at the expiration thereof give his ſaid Apprentice a Suit of new Cloaths or pay him Five Pounds of the now Currency, at the Option of the ſaid Apprentice

AND for the true Performance of all and ſingular the Covenants and Agreements aforeſaid, the ſaid Parties bind themſelves each unto the other firmly by theſe Preſents. IN WITNESS whereof the ſaid Parties have interchangeably ſet their Hands and Seals hereunto. Dated the Eighteenth Day of August in the Twenty fifth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third King of Great-Britain, &c. Annoque Domini, One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Eighty five.

Sealed and Delivered in the Preſence of

Wm. X Dedham mark

Apprenticeship Indenture of William Dedham, 18 August 1785. Printed form with manuscript additions.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Civil and Provincial Secretary, Lower Canada. "S" Series. RG 4, A 1, vol. 28, p. 9258.

VII

Religion

Outside of Roman Catholic Quebec, British North America in the period after the Conquest presented a picture of great religious variety, with many denominations ministering to the souls of the colonists. All the churches faced a common problem — too few resources to meet the demands for solace and guidance that were placed upon them. How the various denominations and church leaders tried to cope with that problem provides a perspective on documents relating to religion in the period.

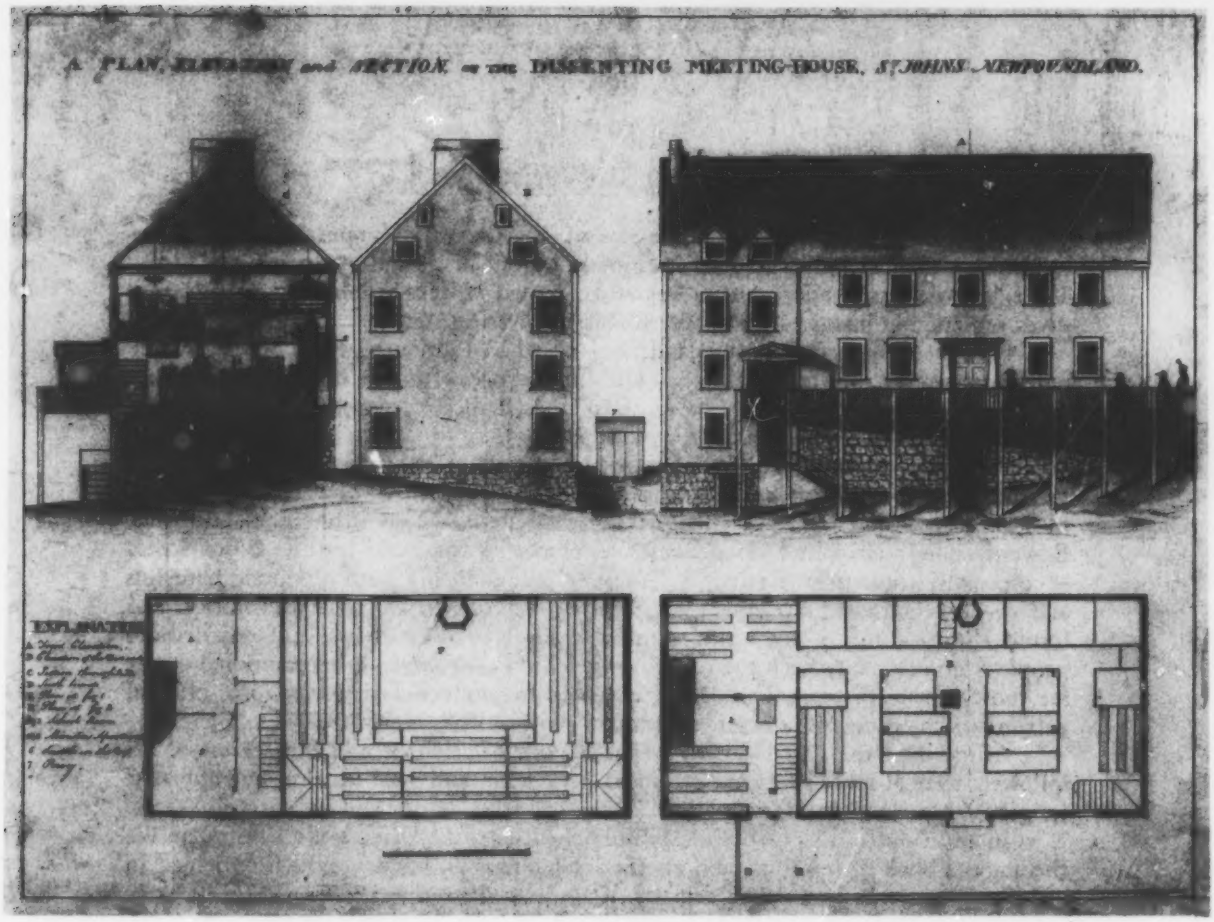
Congregational Meeting House, St. John's, Newfoundland, circa 1789

Even in matters of religion, Newfoundland remained Britain's neglected colony. Missionary priests from Ireland succeeded in winning masses of converts to Roman Catholicism, but they were too few to minister effectively to their flocks. Protestant dissenters relied largely on lay preachers; the Church of England was virtually inactive.

This Congregational church was founded by John Jones (1737–1800), a converted British soldier. Jones's small congregation originally met secretly on the "Barrens" outside St. John's because of British regulations against Dissenters. The situation was eased in 1784 by a proclamation granting freedom of worship in Newfoundland. The meeting house pictured here was built in 1789 and incorporated quarters for a charity school for all denominations, which Jones had begun with his own army pension. By 1794, Jones had a congregation of 400.

Despite Jones's success in St. John's, Congregationalism, with its lack of organization beyond the individual congregation and its appeal to the middle classes, did not take a strong hold in Newfoundland.

The skill evident in the execution of this plan as well as Jones's military background suggests this plan was prepared by an army officer. The plan's depiction of the Sunday dress of the relatively well-to-do in about 1790 is particularly charming. The plan itself is a very early example of the 200,000 plans and architectural drawings held by the National Archives.



"A Plan, Elevation and Section of the Dissenting Meeting-House, St. Johns, Newfoundland." Artist unknown. Pen and ink with watercolour, circa 1789. 31.1×41.9 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-3374).

VII

The "New Light" in Nova Scotia, 1775–1784

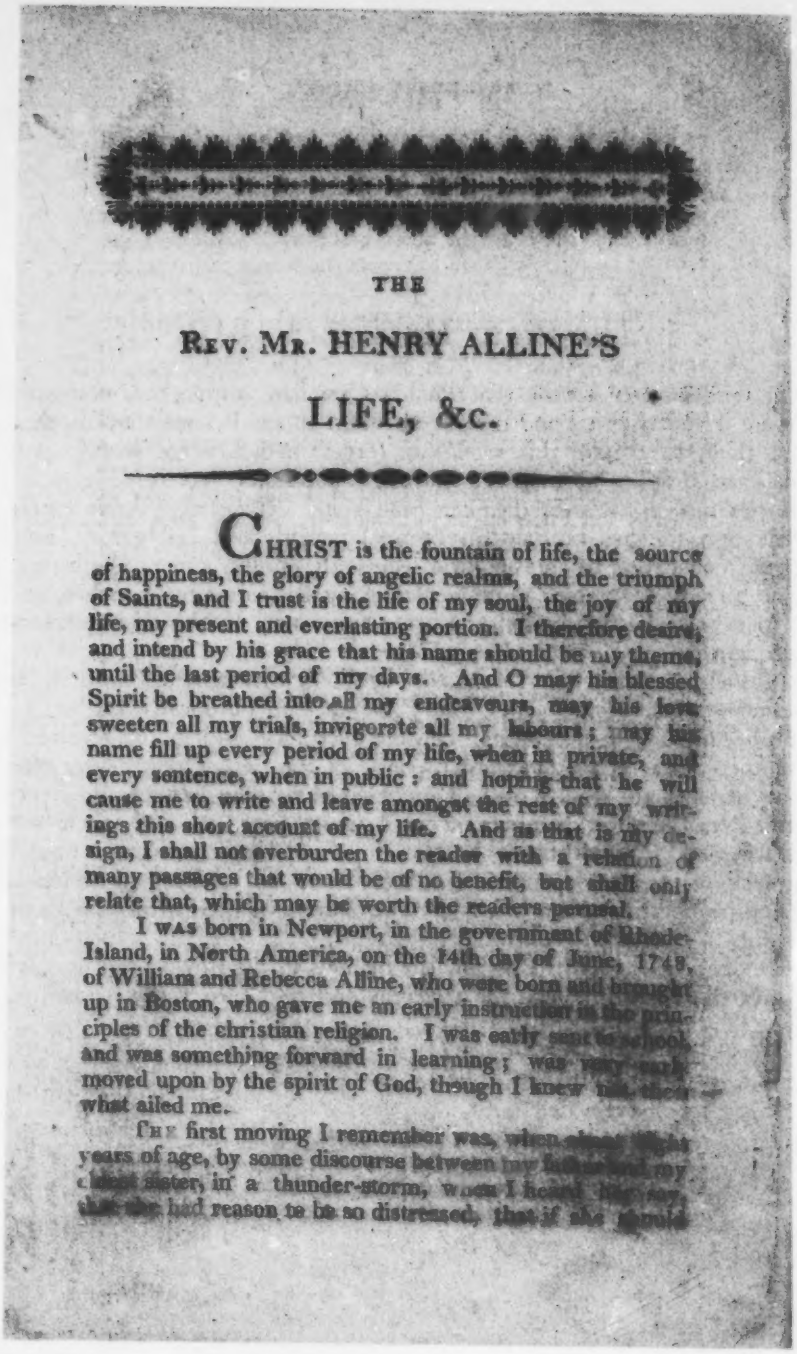
The Great Awakening or New Light revival was the major popular movement — religious, social, or political — of its time in Nova Scotia, and Henry Alline (1748–1784) was its first leader. Alline was also a gifted writer, and his *Life and Journal* gives remarkable insight into his tortured and mystical soul.

Born in Newport, Rhode Island, and raised in Falmouth, Nova Scotia, Alline felt oppressed by the strict Calvinism and limited opportunities of his environment. After years of doubt and guilt, he came to an assurance of conversion in 1775, just at the outbreak of the American Revolution.

Preaching an emotional brand of modified Calvinism that balanced God's love for mankind with His terrible condemnation of sinners, Alline travelled through most of Nova Scotia and the settled parts of what are now New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. He found his greatest acceptance in rural and frontier Nova Scotia — especially those areas settled by "Yankees" experiencing both economic hardship and the psychological anxiety of rootlessness, heightened after the Revolution had forced the breaking of their ties with New England. The revival did not distract people from sympathy with the American rebellion, but served as an emotional outlet for those unable to act politically. It did help to produce a primitive form of local patriotism based on Nova Scotia's "mission" in North America.

Alline died in 1784, leaving no formal organization behind him. Most of his followers were absorbed into the strong Baptist fellowship that became an important religious ingredient in Maritime life.

In addition to his posthumously published journal, Alline left a volume on his theology, a book of sermons, and another of his hymns, some of which remained in use throughout the nineteenth century.



THE

Rev. Mr. HENRY ALLINE'S

LIFE, &c.

CHRIST is the fountain of life, the source of happiness, the glory of angelic realms, and the triumph of Saints, and I trust is the life of my soul, the joy of my life, my present and everlasting portion. I therefore desire, and intend by his grace that his name should be my theme, until the last period of my days. And O may his blessed Spirit be breathed into all my endeavours, may his love sweeten all my trials, invigorate all my labours; may his name fill up every period of my life, when in private, and every sentence, when in public: and hoping that he will cause me to write and leave amongst the rest of my writings this short account of my life. And as that is my design, I shall not overburden the reader with a relation of many passages that would be of no benefit, but shall only relate that, which may be worth the readers perusal.

I was born in Newport, in the government of Rhode-Island, in North America, on the 14th day of June, 1748, of William and Rebecca Alline, who were born and brought up in Boston, who gave me an early instruction in the principles of the christian religion. I was early sent to school, and was something forward in learning; was very early moved upon by the spirit of God, though I knew not then what ailed me.

The first moving I remember was, when about [illegible] years of age, by some discourse between my father and my eldest sister, in a thunder-storm, whom I heard [illegible] that she had reason to be so distressed, that if she should

The Life and Journal of the Rev. Mr. Henry Alline. Henry Alline. Boston, 1806, p. 3.

National Archives of Canada: Library (Negative no. C-130546).

The Pious Habitant? 1810

There is a tendency to assume that French Canadians throughout the nineteenth century were devoutly pious and meekly obedient to the Roman Catholic Church.

How, then, to explain this *mandement* (order) in which the Bishop of Quebec complains that, despite his frequent warnings, habitants were turning local saints' day festivities into excuses for drunken brawls and debauchery? Some enterprising souls even seem to have become professional patron saint celebrators, wandering merrily from one parish to another in a seemingly endless spree. The bishop notes that he had already suppressed saints' day celebrations in twenty parishes, and gives warning to others. Such problems occurred frequently in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

The Roman Catholic Church shared a problem with all the Canadian churches of the period — shortage of clergy. The Conquest and European wars had virtually cut off European supplies of priests. The few recruits found locally received a poor quality of theological education, and, because of the urgent need, were often sent out to the parishes too young and ill-prepared. Even the best of the clergy were overwhelmed by the sheer numbers of their parishioners: in 1805, there were 186 priests to serve 200,000 faithful in the Maritimes and Upper and Lower Canada. The resulting lack of effective spiritual guidance often led to arrogant independence, hostility and immorality among the laity. The church required determined and forceful leadership to reassert its control.

The frequent *mandements* issued by the bishops to their flocks (see also Items 87 and 97) give much insight into the concerns and reactions of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

1810

MANDEMENT concernant les Fêtes Patronales de Paroisses.

JOSEPH OCTAVE PLESSIS,

Par la miséricorde de Dieu et la grace du S. Siège Apostolique Evêque de Québec, &c. &c. A nos très chers frères en Notre Seigneur, les Curés et Missionaires de notre Diocèse, Salut et Bénédiction.

DEPUIS longtemps, NOS TRES CHERS FRERES, les désordres introduits à l'occasion des fêtes patronales des paroisses, sont devenus pour vos évêques un objet d'amertume et de sollicitude, comme vous en pouvez juger par les divers moyens qu'ils ont mis en œuvre pour y remédier. Ces jours vénérables, destinés dans leur première institution à nourrir la piété et la sainte joie des fidèles, en leur remettant plus particulièrement sous les yeux les circonstances du Mystère ou les vertus du Saint en l'honneur duquel leur église étoit dédiée, sont devenus, par le malheur des temps, des jours de tristesse et de deuil pour la religion, des jours de promenades et de débauches, des jours de querelles et d'ivrognerie, des jours de blasphêmes et de batailles, dont la pluspart d'entre vous ont entendu les affligeans récits, lorsqu'ils n'en ont pas été personellement témoins. Nos Illustres Prédécesseurs ont essayé de toute manière de prévenir ces désordres, d'abord en déclarant que ces fêtes ne seroient plus que de dévotion, puis en en transférant quelques-unes au dimanche suivant, ensuite en les faisant célébrer dans des saisons moins favorables aux rassemblemens, enfin en supprimant tout à fait celles qui étoient l'occasion d'excès plus scandaleux.

LES choses en étoient là lorsque nous avons pris la conduite de ce diocèse. Sur les remontrances de plusieurs d'entre vous et d'après les informations prises dans nos visites, nous avons aussi ordonné la suppression totale de la fête du Patron dans une vingtaine de paroisses, comme le seul remède qui pût y arrêter efficacement le mal. Mais ce remède prive certaines ames pieuses d'un grand sujet de consolation et excite en elles une sorte de jalousie contre ceux dont les fêtes patronales subsistent encore, quoique non exemptes de tous les abus qui ont fait supprimer les leurs.

DESIRANT donc adopter un système qui mît toutes les fêtes patronales sur le même pied, et sincèrement touchés de l'aspect affligeant de tant d'églises privées d'honorer solemnellement leurs saints patrons, nous avons

Mandement of Joseph-Octave Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, concerning the observance of saints' days, 1810. Pamphlet, p. 1.

National Archives of Canada: Library (Negative no. C-130541).

VII

A Defender of the Faith

Joseph-Octave Plessis (1763–1825), Bishop of Quebec, 1806–1825, was one of the most significant Roman Catholic clergymen of this period. Described as ambitious, methodical and a realist with a flair for diplomacy, Plessis concentrated his considerable powers on sustaining and strengthening his Church and managing its relations with the state. A decided opponent of the French Revolution and all it stood for, he saw Britain as a defender of traditional and established values. He was highly suspicious of democratic movements in French Canada. Plessis cooperated with the British authorities in civil matters while resisting their efforts to weaken the Church. He opposed a plan for state-controlled education, but encouraged the establishment of Catholic primary education. Faced with a serious shortage of clergy, Plessis channelled a significant number of young ecclesiastics into classical education, a policy that eventually halted the decline in recruitment. At his death in 1825, he left a Church much stronger than he had found it in 1806.

JOSEPH OCTAVE PLESSIS.
NÉ EN 1763,
CONSACRÉ EVÊQUE DE CANATHE EN 1801
& Evêque Titulaire de l'Eglise Catholique du Canada depuis 1806,

Joseph Octave Plessis. Attributed to William Berczy (1744–1813). Hand-coloured aquatint, early 1800s. 25.5 × 20.3 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-99308).

A Manuscript of Possibly the Oldest Preserved Canadian Composition, circa 1756–1791

This manuscript volume from the parish church at Ste. Foy contains words in Latin and music for hymns sung at vespers, a complete "Mass and Office of the Holy Family," and a complete "Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ According to St. Matthew for Palm Sunday." Because this music was not part of the unchangeable portion of the Mass, the volume was probably used infrequently. The manuscript was prepared for François-Xavier Borel, a Frenchman, who was the priest at Ste. Foy from 1756 to 1774 and 1786 to 1791, for his own use from the pulpit.

The "Prose" part of the "Mass of the Holy Family," a portion of which is illustrated here, may have been composed by Charles-Amador Martin (1648–1711), the second Canadian-born priest. If so, it may also be the oldest preserved Canadian composition. First printed in 1801, the "Prose" was chanted at the Québec Cathedral on the Holy Family feast day until the 1950s.

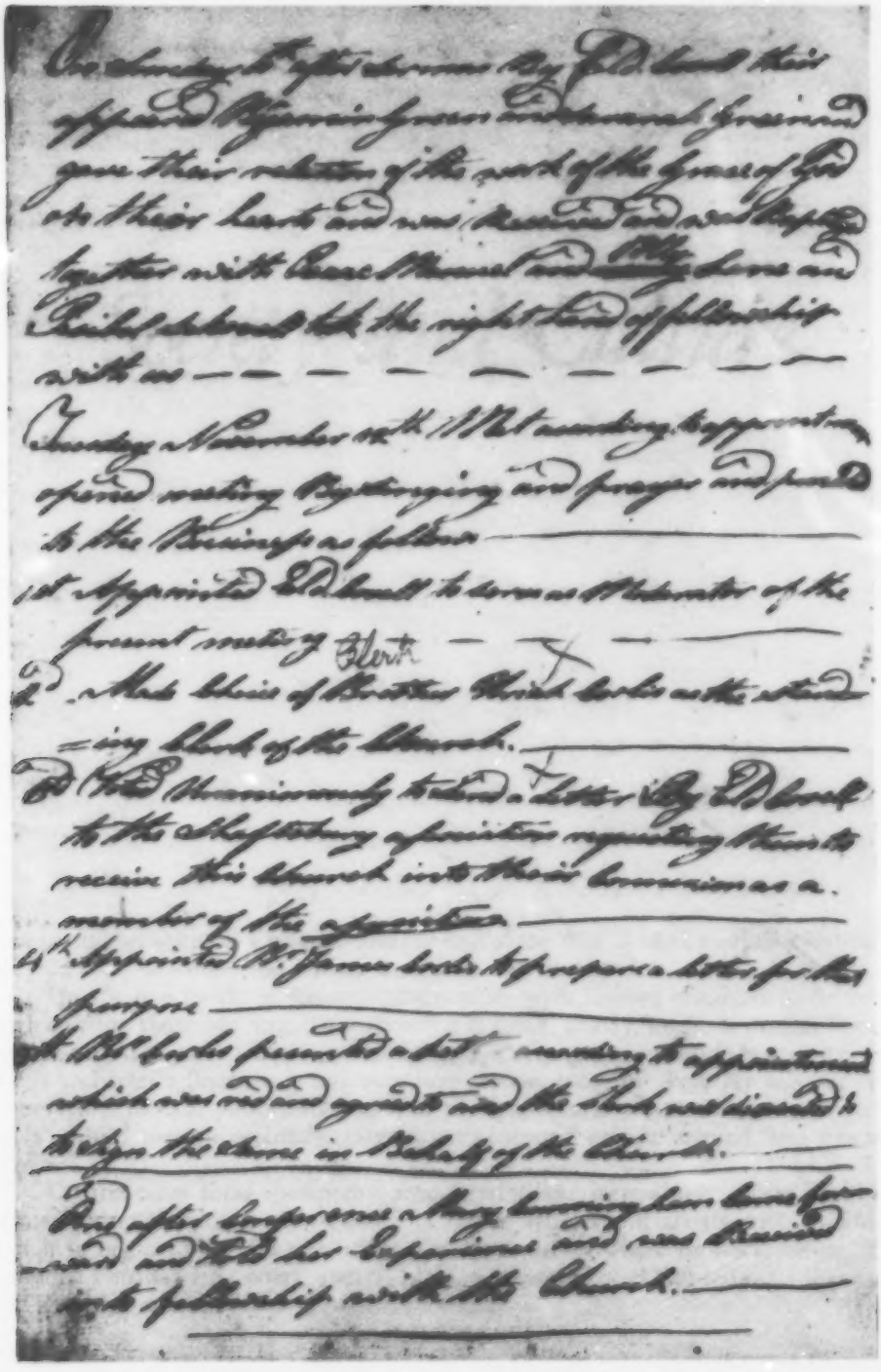
Volume of religious music and liturgy. Author unknown. Manuscript, circa 1756–1791.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, François-Xavier Borel papers, MG 18, E 21, unpaginated.

VII

"The Most Valuable Baptist Document in Ontario," 1805

The minute book of the Baptist Church in Boston, Ontario (near present-day Simcoe, inland from Lake Erie) has been called "the most valuable Baptist document in Ontario," both for its early date (1804–1830) and for the extensive picture it gives of congregational life in pioneer days. The entries exhibited deal with the original organization of the church when it began in 1805 with seven members. The entries make clear that like many pioneer churches, the Baptists relied on lay members to preach and administer the sacraments. The Boston Church, as mentioned in the entries, joined the Baptist Shaftesbury Association centred in Vermont, which sent ordained ministers on tours to local congregations without clergy.



Boston Baptist Church Minute Book.
Manuscript, 1804–1830.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript
Division, MG 9, D 7-2, p. 14.

VIII

Society and Culture

The period between the Conquest and the end of the War of 1812 marked a watershed for fine arts, literature and science in British North America.

On the one hand, in pioneer communities with limited resources to devote to high culture, there was no great outpouring of prose, poetry, music or drama. Popular leisure activities were simple and often geared to physical or outdoor activity. Folk songs and stories flourished, but were very seldom recorded. Folk art was not often preserved. Practical publications such as newspapers and almanacs put down sturdy roots, while nascent scientific interest concentrated on the natural and practical spheres.

On the other hand, prosperity, immigration and increasingly concentrated settlement were providing immigrant and native writers and artists with a base on which to begin to build a distinctive Canadian culture whose products before 1815 included Canada's first novel, poetry, plays, a growing travel and religious literature, and a golden age of French-Canadian painting.

The First Novel Written in North America, 1763–1768

Most figures noted for making a major contribution to British North America's development in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century were men. Few individuals indeed made their mark in the spheres of literature or high culture. It is striking then to encounter a writer who was both a woman and Canada's (as well as North America's) first novelist.

Dramatist, essayist, librettist, theatre manager and novelist Frances Brooke (d. 1789) was a noted figure in literary and theatrical circles in London. In 1763, she sailed for Québec to join her husband, who was military chaplain there. During her stay, which lasted until 1768, she wrote *The History of Emily Montague* (1769). The novel was structured as a series of fictionalized letters, based on Brooke's life at Québec and containing her witty and perceptive comments on politics, religion, society and nature. The grace and style of the narrative assured it would become required reading for travellers to Canada.

It is remarkable that the artist of Mrs. Brooke's portrait was also a woman, the Scottish-born Catherine Read (1723–1778), a fashionable London portraitist of the day who, in an age dominated by male artists, specialized in painting women. The two women were close friends, which may account for the warm informality of the portrait, so different from the convention of the day.

Portrait of Frances Brooke. Catherine Read (1723–1778). Oil on canvas, 1771. 71.6 × 59.4 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-11373).

VIII

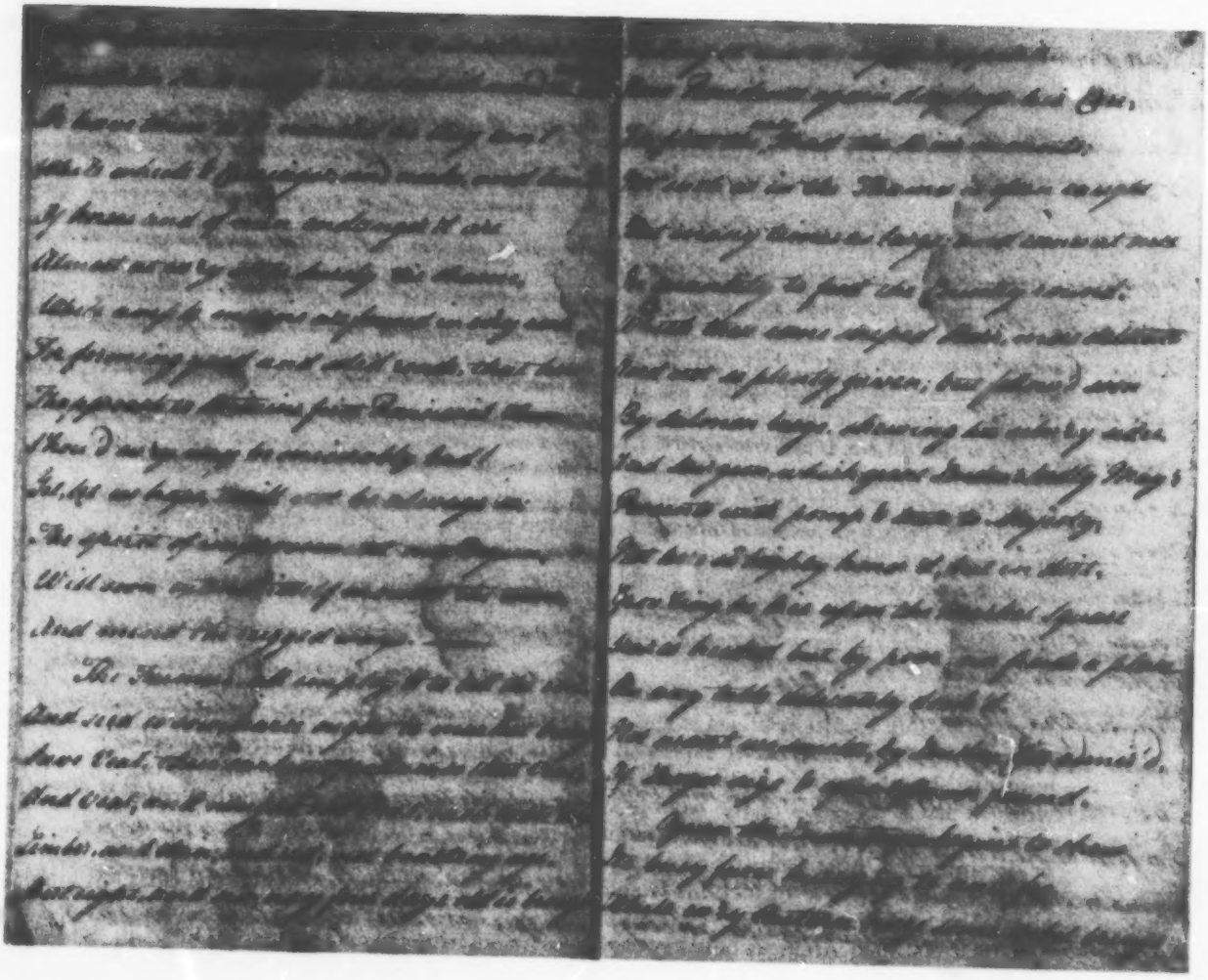
An English Canadian Poem, circa 1806

Closer to the generality of literary production in English-speaking Canada at this period are William Robe's two epic poems, "Quebec Winter" and "Quebec Summer." In this passage from "Summer," Robe discusses (as virtually every writer did) the poor condition of Canada's roads and, more unusually, the local diet at Québec City as winter turned to spring. Although rather pedestrian as poetry, Robe's observations were perceptive and often ranged well beyond conventional poetic interests to include, for example, the plight of the unemployed in winter, the police, and the flies in summer. Written on paper watermarked 1806, the poems are not known to have been published.

Before 1815, Canadian literature was very much in the pioneer stages of its development. Many could not write, and those who could were too busy to do so or did not have the inclination or literary skill to put their thoughts on paper. In English, much writing was in the form of published diaries and journals or letters of soldiers and inhabitants, the most remarkable being Alexander Henry's *Travels and Adventures in Canada* . . . (1809) (see Item 13). Closely related were travel accounts by British and European tourists. Both forms tell us much about general conditions and the thought of people at the time. Religious writings were prominent and in Nova Scotia included *The Life and Journal of the Rev. Mr. Henry Alline* (1806) (see Item 71). Poetry was more common as a literary form than prose.

The period was important in the main for laying the foundations of future literary development.

William Robe (1765–1820), an officer of the Royal Artillery, served in Canada 1794–1795, in 1799 and again circa 1800–1806. Robe designed the Anglican cathedral at Québec City and supervised its construction.



"Quebec Summer." William Robe (1765–1820). Manuscript, circa 1806.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Lawrence M. Lande collection, MG 53, 189, pp. 4–5.

VIII

A Poem by French Canada's Most Significant Contemporary Writer

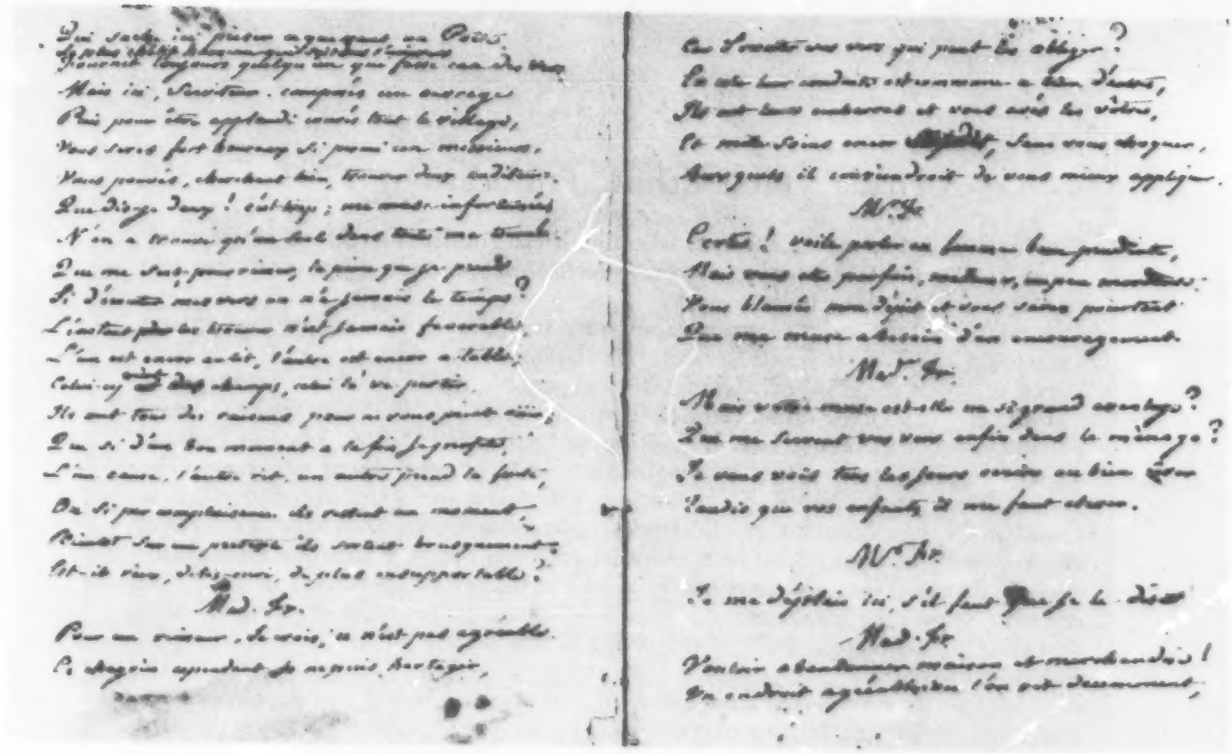
This manuscript for "Le Dépit ridicule ou le Sonnet perdu" was written by Joseph Quesnel (1746–1809), the most significant literary figure of his day in French Canada. A Frenchman who had been captured on a French privateer during the American Revolution, Quesnel settled in Quebec in 1779. A versatile writer, he composed songs, plays and poetry. His play *Colas et Colinette, ou le Bailli dupé*, a comic opera in three acts with fourteen songs, was first produced by the Théâtre de Société (which Quesnel helped to found) in Montreal in 1789–1790.

Another of his plays was entitled *L'Anglomanie, ou le Dîner à l'anglaise*, a satire ridiculing the seigneurs' infatuation with English fashion. Some of his poems appeared in newspapers, and his music was performed locally.

Other French Canadians composed songs and poems, which they often published in newspapers. Indeed, newspapers themselves were significant vehicles of French Canadian culture. *Le Canadien*, founded in 1806, first gave voice to the nationalist tone that has marked Québécois literature ever since. Joseph-Octave Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, was the foremost orator of his day, and many of his pronouncements were published (see Items 73 and 97).

Still, as in English Canada, formal culture was thin. No novels were published. A vigorous folk tradition of songs and stories flourished, but very little was written down in this period. Quesnel expressed his frustration at the lack of artistic development through the wry humour of "Le Dépit ridicule." The poet complains to his wife "What is the good of the trouble I take for rhyming / If no one ever has time to listen to my verse." She, more practical, responds: "I see you every day writing or dreaming / Whilst I must bring up your children." The poet then announces his great project to her — to lock his friends in a room and read to them "all the lines of my last work."

The National Archives holds twenty-four manuscript poems by Joseph Quesnel in the Lande collection, as well as other of his family papers relating to his business and personal affairs.



"Le Dépit ridicule ou le Sonnet perdu."
Joseph Quesnel (1746–1809).
Manuscript, n.d.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Lawrence M. Lande collection, MG 53, 177, unpaginated.

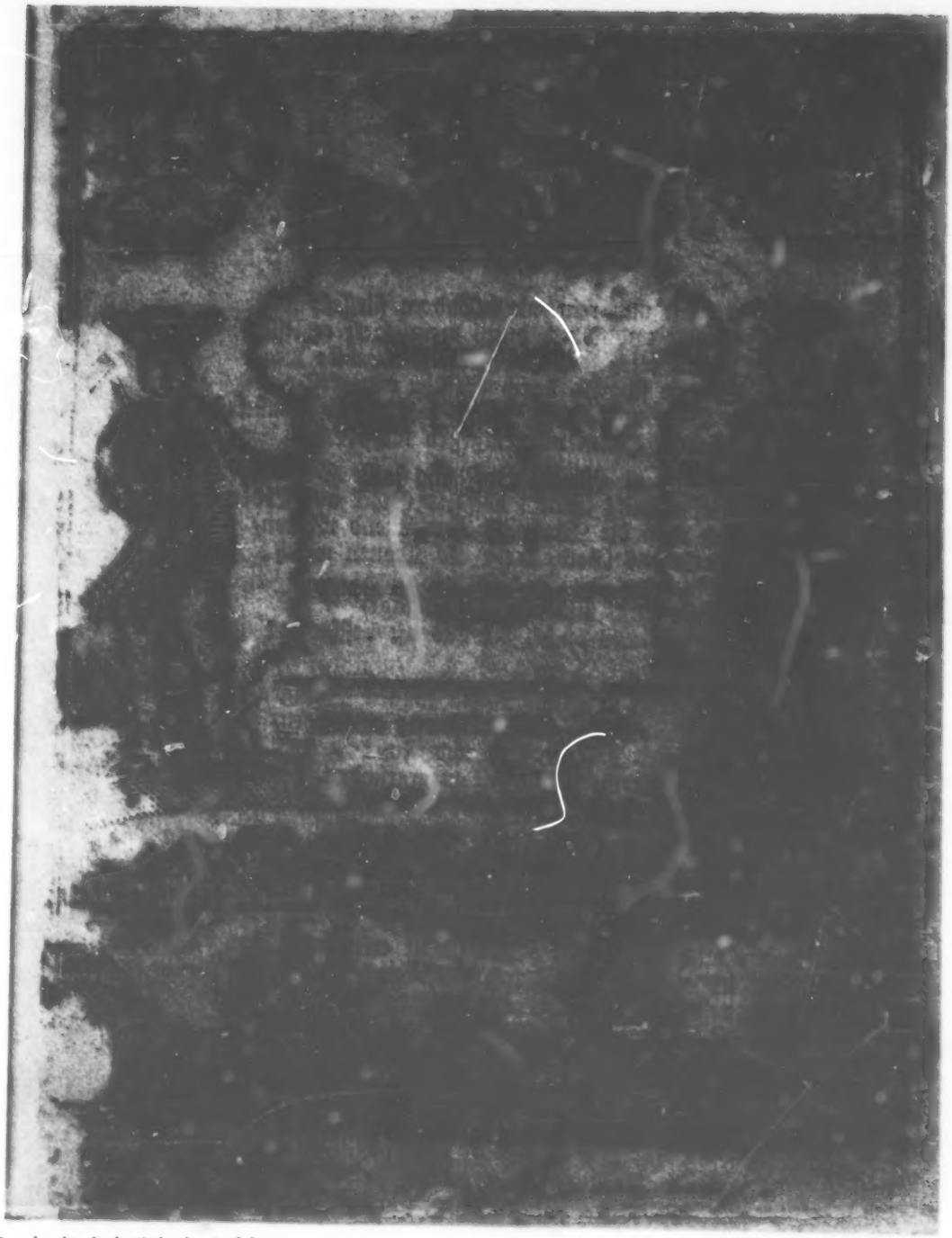
VIII

Canada's First Ethnic Publication, 1787

The literary diet of most Canadians who could read consisted largely of newspapers, almanacs, hand bills and posters — those practical publications of greatest immediate relevance to their daily lives.

Aimed at the large German community in Nova Scotia that centred around Lunenburg, this Nova Scotia almanac *Der Neuschottländische Calender Auf das Jahr Christi 1789*, is the third edition of what was possibly the first ethnic publication in Canada. Its publisher, Anthon Henrich (Anthony Henry) (1734–1800) was of German parentage and had been active in printing in Halifax from 1760. He also founded the first Canadian newspaper to run independently of government patronage (The *Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser*, 1769) and in 1776 published the first Canadian book to contain an illustration. Henry was convinced that his modest almanac with its appropriate local information could compete with the German almanacs flooding into the province from Pennsylvania. He promised in the 1788 edition, "I will use my greatest endeavour to keep our mother tongue current through this press . . . although many of the young people declare an aversion for it, out of a wonderful conceit."

Set in a type imported from Germany, the almanac is well composed and profusely illustrated with ornaments and zodiac signs. The little book contains standard almanac information on phases of the moon, zodiac charts, tables of historic dates, lists of local government and military officials, court days and the like. It must have enjoyed considerable success, as it continued to be published annually beyond 1800.



Der Neuschottländische Calender Auf das Jahr Christi 1789. Halifax: Anthony Henry, 1788. Title page.

National Archives of Canada: Library (Negative no. C-105286).

French-Canadian Portraiture, circa 1800

This portrait is an example of the most significant development in Canadian fine arts of the period — the beginnings of a golden age of French Canadian painting that would stretch forward to the 1850s. Growing urban communities and increasing prosperity created a demand for painters, especially those specializing in portraiture. Painters like Robert Field in Halifax and William Berczy, who spent a portion of his career in Upper Canada, benefited from this demand, but the effects were most noticeable where the concentration of population was highest — in Quebec. Louis Dulongpré, creator of this portrait, was credited in his obituary with 3,500 oil and pastel portraits, an output almost beyond that of any other Canadian painter. Religious canvases provided some income for Quebec artists as well, but little inspiration. The tastes of the clergy were traditional and conservative.

French-Canadian painters created a distinctive Canadian portrait style, unique because it evolved when Quebec artists, cut off from study in France by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, pursued their own path. Beginning with the ornate rococo heritage of the French court, the Canadian style was tempered by sober thoughts of war and revolution in Europe, as well as threats of American invasion at home. The style combined a provincial naiveté with the sophistications of a European style to produce portraits that are alert, lively, and very much linked to their Canadian roots.

Louis Dulongpré (1754–1843) was a Frenchman who had studied in France and settled in Montreal after fighting in the American Revolution. He began painting portraits and religious works in the 1790s. The subject of this portrait, Joseph Papineau, was the father of the orator and politician, Louis-Joseph Papineau. Dulongpré executed four copies of it.

Joseph Papineau. Attributed to Louis Dulongpré (1754–1843). Oil on canvas, n.d. 74.3 × 61 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-95591).

Seeds for Sale, circa 1764–1773

Like literature and the fine arts, science was in its infancy in Canada before 1815. One area of considerable amateur and professional interest was botany. Many letters of the period refer to seeds being sent abroad to relatives and friends. Here, on a more ambitious scale, John Wright offers to sell exotic Canadian seeds to interested gardeners in Britain. Wright was the gardener to the Governor of Quebec. As early as 1764, he was gathering large quantities of seeds to send home to "Noblemen & Gentlemen of the Society of Edinburgh," who, as he notes in this handbill, presented him with a gold medal for his efforts.

By 1767, Wright was offering to send to Britain seeds of up to 400 different species individually parceled with the proper botanical name and the soil each plant required marked on the package. Wright also imported and sold British vegetable and flower seeds as well as fruit trees and roses, thus also encouraging the acclimatization of British plants to Canada. Wright returned to Britain in late 1772 or 1773.

All the available information on Wright comes from various advertisments in the official government newspaper, the *Quebec Gazette*. The National Archives holds an extensive subject and nominal index for the *Gazette*, 1764 to 1823.

CATALOGUE

TREES, SHRUBS, FLOWERS and HERBS,

DISCOVERED IN

CANADA, in NORTH-AMERICA,

By JOHN WRIGHT, Gardiner and Seedsman to his Majesty's Gardens, in the CITY of QUEBEC. Collector of American Seeds, for a Society of Noblemen and Gentlemen in Scotland, and Sold by him, on the cheapest Terms, at QUEBEC.

TREES and SHRUBS.

PLANTS.

A Catalogue of Trees, Shrubs, Flowers and Herbs Discovered in Canada . . . . John Wright. [London], circa 1764–1772. Broadside.

National Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division, Dartmouth papers, MG 23, A 1, vol. 2, p. 2336.

VIII

Fishing on the Montmorency River, 1782

Except for native games, very little in the way of organized team sports existed in Canada before 1815. Summer activities consisted mainly of picnicking, hunting and fishing — and as the habitants' wealth of fish in this watercolour suggests, fine clothes and fancy equipment did not always lead to the best catch.

One young British soldier fishing for salmon very near to Montmorency in 1815 recounted the sentiments that have led generations of Canadians to brave sunburn, heat and mosquitoes in search of fish:

> At last — never shall I forget that moment — in a sweeping eddy, almost under a rock, I had a splendid rise — hooked my fish and away he went. . . he had run me out about five-and-twenty yards of line, when he leaped out of the water, and tried all sorts of manoeuvres to disengage himself. . . . I succeeded in killing my fish. . . . It weighed nearly ten pounds, and, as may be imagined, I was not a little elated at my success . . . to a youngster as I then was, and passionately fond of fishing withal, the sensation I experienced on taking my first fish is scarcely to be defined. . . . Never to my latest breath shall I cease to remember this eventful day.[1]

This view, with its delicate shading and striking luminosity, is perhaps the finest surviving example of James Peachey's work.

[1]Frederick Tolfrey, *The Sportsman in Canada*, 2 vols. (London: 1845), I, pp. 82–83.

A View on Montmorenci River.... James Peachey (fl. 1773–1797). Hand-coloured etching, 1782. 42.8 × 61.0 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-2024).

A Dance in the Château St. Louis, 1801

Many travellers remarked that British North America had only two seasons — summer and winter. Winter was the prime time for leisure activities, and no region was more fond of skating, sleighing and partying than French Canada. In this view, warmed by fireplaces and lit by candlelight, a "danse à la ronde" is performed amidst the rich surroundings of the Château St. Louis, the Governor's residence where soirées were held once or twice a week in winter. The dancers, in a mixture of elegant dress (fashion was only about a year behind London and Paris) and local costume, present a study in contrast as do the observers in the background, many of whom are in habitant dress. Music is provided by a country fiddler and tambourines. Similar if more modest gatherings occurred at all levels of British North American society, with dancing, card playing and feasting.

George Heriot (1759–1839) sketched extensively during his travels as Deputy Postmaster-General of British North America. His works, a number of which accompany his classic, picturesque *Travels through the Canadas* (1807), are a valuable record of early Canadian life. The National Archives holds seventy-three Heriot watercolours and wash drawings, including a sketch book, as well as many aquatints and engravings after his works.

Dance in the Château St. Louis. George Heriot (1759–1839). Watercolour, 1801. 24.6 × 37.6 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-40).

IX

Social Conditions

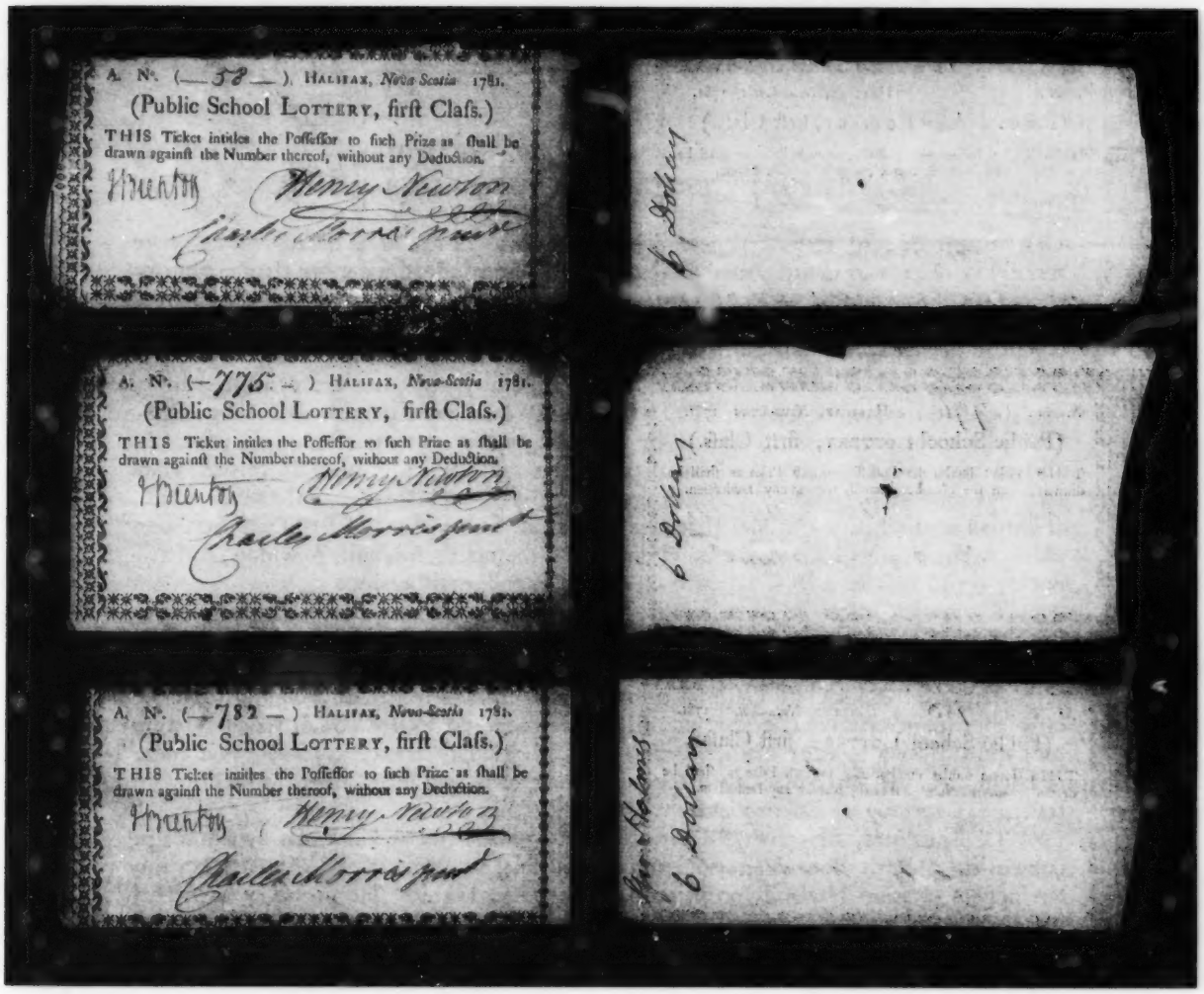
Perhaps in no area of life did the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century differ more from our own time than in its attitude to the provision of health and welfare systems. Available services were much more limited and less effective. Social problems like alcoholism, inadequate health care, violence and social disorder, however, were as great or greater a concern, relative to the scale of society, as in our own time.

IX

Lottery Tickets, 1781

In eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Canada, it was not seen as the role of government to build schools, hospitals, orphanages or other community facilities. Their creation relied largely upon the churches and individual charity — often in the form of lotteries.

Now exceptionally rare, these first-class tickets in the 1781 Halifax Public School Lottery sold for 20 shillings (about $2.50) each. They could win up to 4,250 pounds ($10,500). The sponsors were attempting to raise 750 pounds ($1,875).



A. N°. (— 58 —) HALIFAX, *Nova Scotia* 1781.
(Public School LOTTERY, firſt Claſs.)
THIS Ticket intitles the Poſſeſſor to ſuch Prize as ſhall be drawn againſt the Number thereof, without any Deduction.
Henry Newton
Charles Morris junr

6 Dollars

A. N°. (— 776 —) HALIFAX, *Nova-Scotia* 1781.
(Public School LOTTERY, firſt Claſs.)
THIS Ticket intitles the Poſſeſſor to ſuch Prize as ſhall be drawn againſt the Number thereof, without any Deduction.
Henry Newton
Charles Morris junr

6 Dollars

A. N°. (— 782 —) HALIFAX, *Nova-Scotia* 1781.
(Public School LOTTERY, firſt Claſs.)
THIS Ticket intitles the Poſſeſſor to ſuch Prize as ſhall be drawn againſt the Number thereof, without any Deduction.
Henry Newton
Charles Morris junr

6 Dollars

Halifax Public School Lottery Tickets, 1781.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, MG 9, B 9-23.

IX

A Mutual Insurance Club, circa 1805

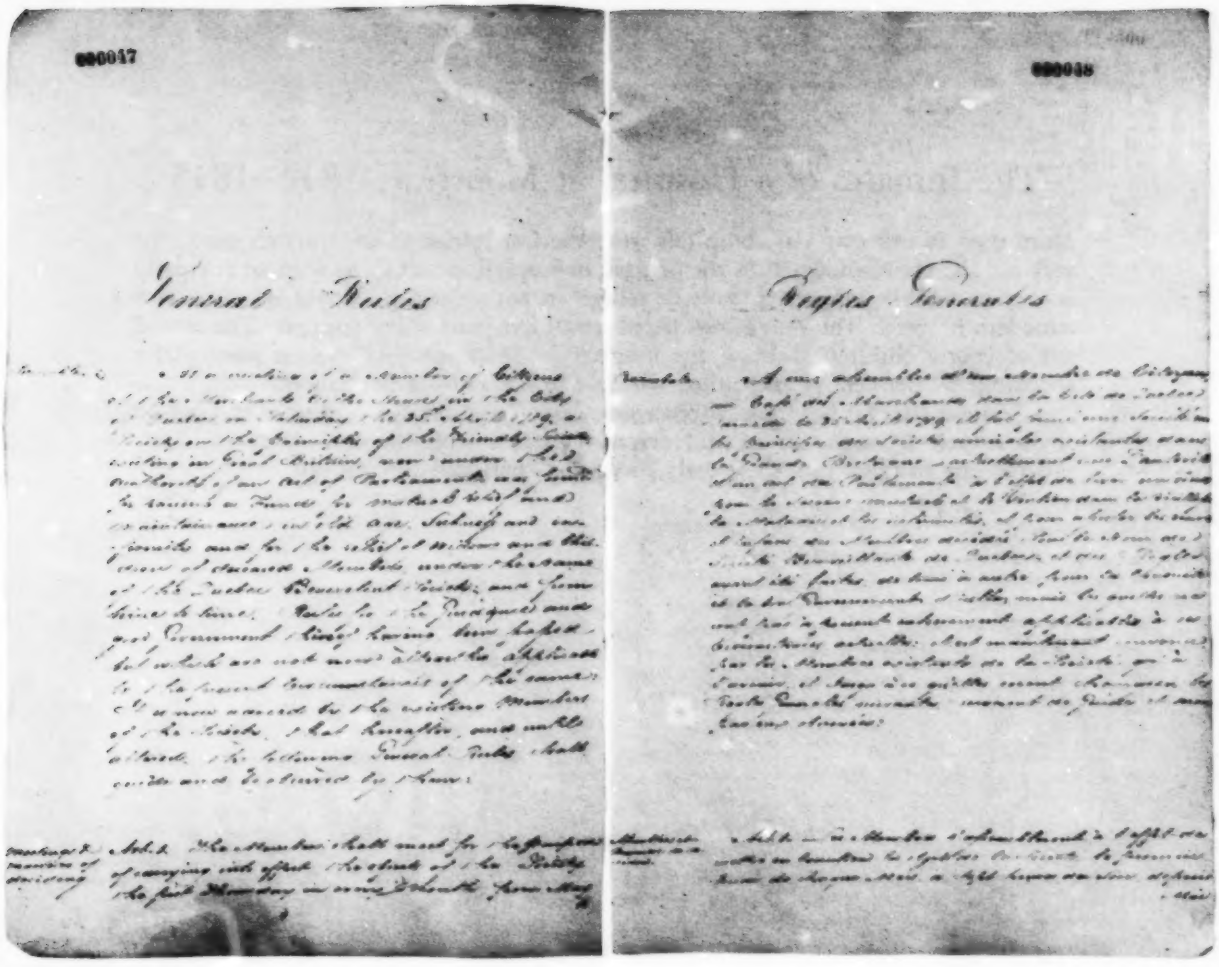
Destitution due to serious illness, old age or the death of a bread-winner were terrifying threats to many Canadians before 1815 and indeed for more than a century thereafter. Provision for sickness or death were a heavy burden borne almost entirely by the individual. One solution was for individuals (almost invariably men) to band together in "friendly societies," pooling their funds for mutual aid.

The Quebec Benevolent Society, whose general regulations are exhibited here, was founded in Québec City in 1789 with twenty members. It grew to 238 by 1808. Candidates for membership had to be between twenty-one and forty-five years old and in good health. They paid an initiation fee and monthly dues. In return, they received modest benefits of 20 shillings ($2.50) per week for the first twelve weeks of illness or disability and half that rate thereafter. Lump sums of £10 ($25.00) were paid on the death of a member's wife or for a member's funeral. A widow and her family could receive £50 ($125.00) on a vote of the membership.

The society drew its members from both the French and English communities in Québec City and was proud of its role in reducing the increasing tensions between the two groups.

Although the society claimed to draw its members from "all ranks of society," only the financially comfortable could have afforded to join it. Such societies were rare and unlikely to exist outside urban areas. Beyond their own resources and those of their kin, the vast majority of people would have had little or no protection in the face of serious illness or death.

Then, as now, advertising was important to insurance services. This manuscript copy of the Quebec Benevolent Society's regulations, written about 1805, comes from the papers of John Neilson, proprietor of the *Quebec Gazette*. He probably used this manuscript to typeset a pamphlet of which he produced 400 copies for the society. The order books of the printing firm are in the Neilson collection at the National Archives. They are a valuable source to historians and to students of literature who use them to study ephemeral publications — pamphlets, official notices, advertisements, playbills — for many of which no copies now survive.



Quebec City Benevolent Society Membership Book. John Neilson (1776–1848). Manuscript volume, 1789–1808.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Neilson papers, MG 24, B 1, vol. 26, pp. 47–48.

IX

The Inmates of a Hospital at Montreal, 1814–1815

More than in our own day, hospitals were the last refuge of the impoverished, the very old and the abandoned. In the first list of hospital inmates, the number of elderly is very noticeable, while the "salle de refuge" is not an area we would associate with a modern hospital. The young boys listed are all five years old or younger. The second list of young children entering the hospital in 1814 and 1815 seems particularly shocking: 57 per cent of them died within a few months of admission.

Various lists for hospitals, orphanages, insane asylums and prisons of this period are scattered through official and private papers at the National Archives. They provide rare insights into these early social and charitable institutions.

Montreal Hospital Returns, 1815.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Executive Council: Lower Canada. Board of Audit of the Provincial Public Accounts, 1759–1841, RG 1 5A, vol. 292, unpaginated.

IX

Liquor Control, 1787

Strong drink fuelled most social gatherings of this period. It was considered essential for much heavy work and provided escape from the dreariness of everyday life. Per capita consumption was much higher than today, and many towns and cities had more taverns than all other businesses combined.

This circular letter issued to parish priests on the authority of the Bishop of Quebec deals with the problem of over-abundant and under-regulated taverns. It notes that the government had decreed that tavern licences were to be issued only to those who obtained attestations from the local priest and the captain of the local militia. The letter urges priests to give recommendations to as few individuals as possible and only to those of known integrity. The use by the government of the Roman Catholic Church to convey new instructions and enforce regulations was commonplace in the period and readily accepted by both parties.

17.87

Lettre Circulaire à Meſſieurs les Curés de Campagne.

MONSIEUR,

POUR entrer dans les vues du Gouvernement qui a ſagement fait annoncer dans la Gazette de Québec du 15 du préſent mois, qu'après le 5 Avril prochain nul n'obtiendra le licence pour vendre des liqueurs dans les paroiſſes de campagne, ſans s'être auparavant muni de l'atteſtation du Curé du lieu et du Capitaine de Milice; nous vous exhortons à faire uſage de cette marque de confiance d'une maniere qui réponde aux intentions qu'a le Gouvernement de maintenir partout l'ordre, la paix et les bonnes mœurs.

Vous obſerverez donc de ne donner cette recommendation qu'au plus petit nombre que vous pourrez, et ſeulement à des perſonnes d'une probité reconnue, chez qui vous ayez lieu d'eſpérer qu'il ne ſe paſſera aucun déſordre occaſionné par l'uſage immodéré des boiſſons.

Je ſuis bien parfaitement,

MONSIEUR,

Votre très-humble et très-obéiſſant Serviteur,

† JEAN FRANC^S. *Ev. d'Almire, Coadjr. de Québec.*

QUEBEC, 16 *Mars*, 1787.

BON POUR COPIE.

Plessis ptre Secrey

3.

Circular letter to parish priests, March 1787. Broadside.

National Archives of Canada: Library (Negative no. C-130539).

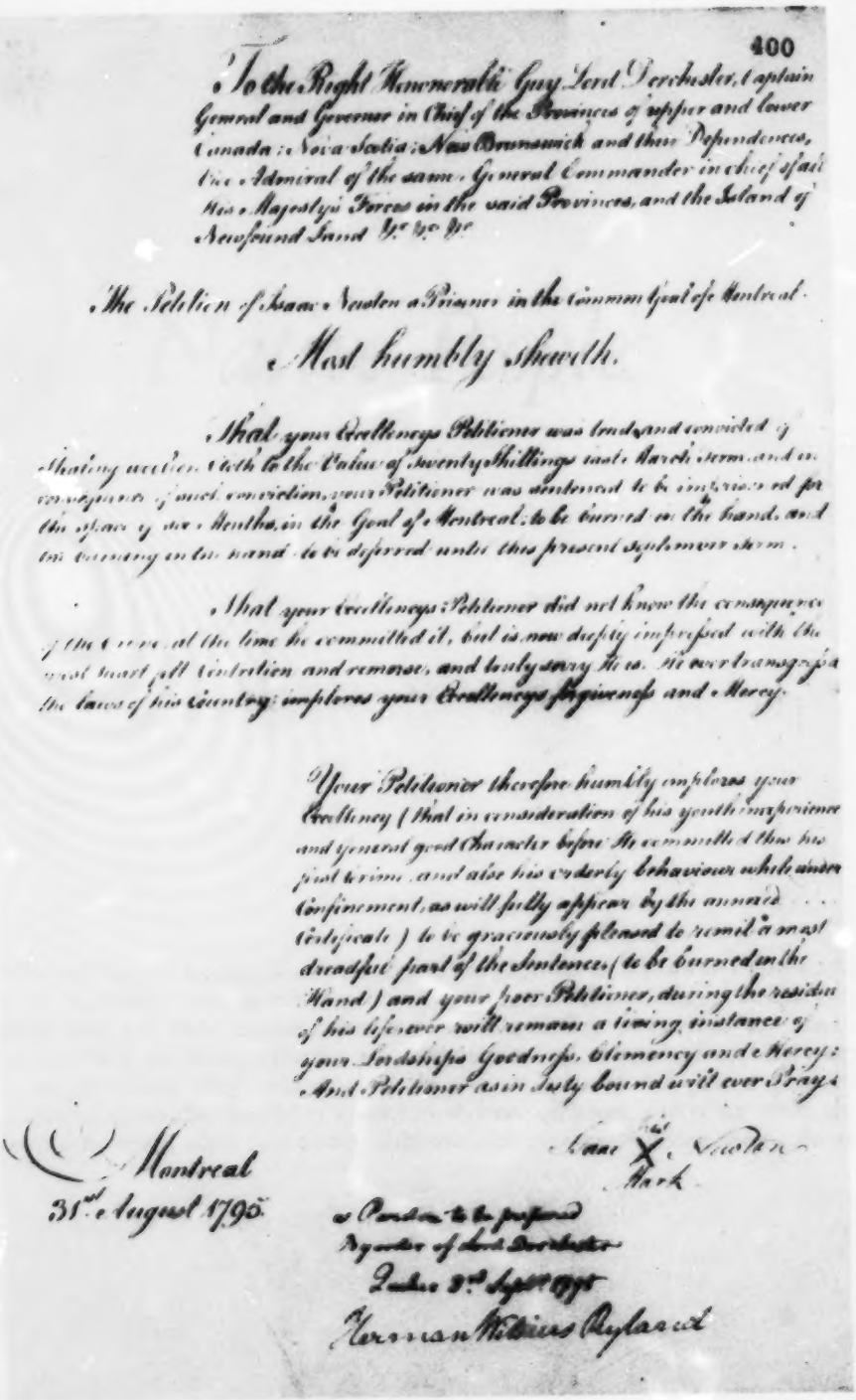
IX

The Petition of a Thief Against the Branding of His Hand, 1795

Justice was often ineffective in early British North America and partially because of that, extremely harsh. Colonists often petitioned their local governments that they did not have enough law-enforcement officers, that prisons were non-existent or decrepit and that lawlessness was rampant and unchecked. At times, the only way to stop crime seemed to be to issue stern, even brutal, sentences.

Here a petty criminal, sentenced to six months for stealing a modest amount of woolen cloth, petitions for remission of the second part of the sentence — that he be branded on the hand. He was granted a pardon by Lord Dorchester.

Historians and social scientists have recently begun to study crime and punishment in early British North America using court records and related material like this petition in an attempt to better understand social disorder and its causes.



400

To the Right Honourable Guy Lord Dorchester, Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and their Dependences, Vice Admiral of the same, General Commander in chief of all His Majesty's Forces in the said Provinces, and the Island of Newfoundland &c. &c. &c.

The Petition of Isaac Newton a Prisoner in the Common Goal of Montreal

Most humbly Sheweth,

That your Excellencys Petitioner was tried and convicted of Stealing one Coat, Cloth to the Value of Twenty Shillings last March Term and in consequence of such conviction, your Petitioner was sentenced to be imprisoned for the space of one Months, in the Goal of Montreal, to be Burned in the Hand, and on Burning on the Hand, to be deported unto this present September Term.

That your Excellencys Petitioner did not know the consequences of the crime at the time he committed it, but is now deeply impressed with the most heart felt Contrition and remorse, and truly sorry for it, He ever transgressed the laws of his Country; implores your Excellencys Clemency and Mercy.

Your Petitioner therefore humbly implores your Excellency (that in consideration of his youth, imprisonment and general good Character before he committed this his first Crime, and also his orderly behaviour while under Confinement, as will fully appear by the annexed Certificate) to be graciously pleased to remit a most dreadful part of the Sentence (to be Burned in the Hand) and your poor Petitioner, during the residue of his life, ever will remain a living instance of your Lordships Goodness, Clemency and Mercy: And Petitioner as in duty bound will ever Pray &c.

Isaac X Newton
Mark

Montreal
31st August 1795

Petition of Isaac Newton against the burning of his hand, 1795.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Provincial and Civil Secretaries' Offices, Lower Canada. Applications for Pardons or Clemency, 1767–1857. RG 4, B 20, vol. 1, p. 400.

X

Native Peoples

In eastern and central British North America, the presence of European colonists had become an established fact for native peoples, and much of their energies were focused on coping with the complications arising from that situation. Further west and in the North, where the white presence was less dominating, native cultures continued much more to follow their own rhythm. Native societies of this period generated little documentation that has been placed in modern archives; surviving white documentation, however, often contributes substantially to understanding their cultures.

X

An Important Fragment in the Beothuk Puzzle, 1768

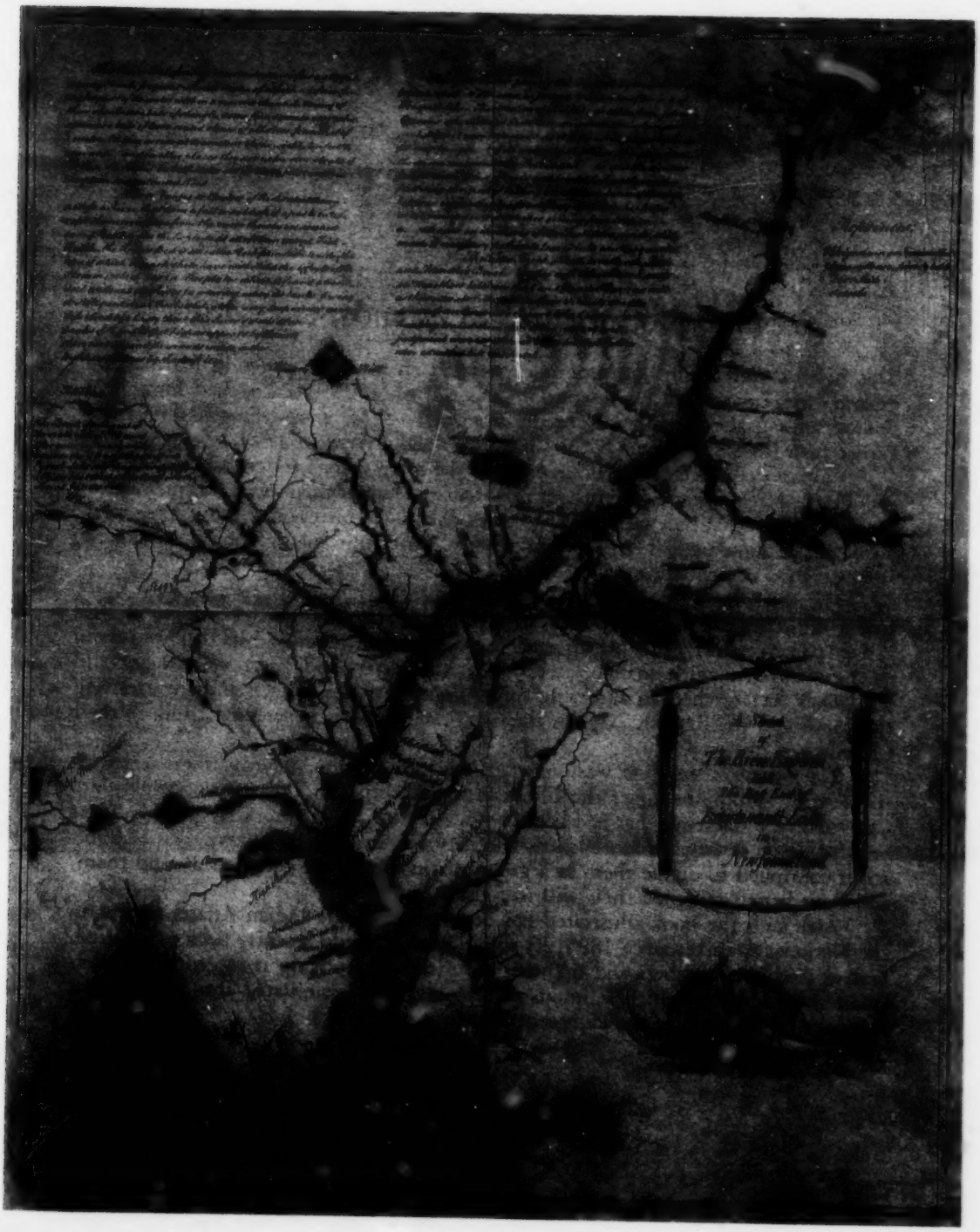
The final result of contact with whites for small and weak Indian tribes could be extinction.

Having occupied areas of the island of Newfoundland for more than 1,000 years, the Beothuks by the eighteenth century had retreated into the sparsely populated area of Notre Dame Bay. Continuing white pressures and violence wiped them out completely by 1829. They disappeared almost without a trace; their habitations disintegrated and their sites were destroyed by new settlements or washed away. Very few artifacts have survived. This lack of archaeological evidence gives very special significance to the maps and accounts of Captain John Cartwright R.N. (1740–1824), which were based on an expedition he undertook in 1768 at the request of Governor Palliser of Newfoundland to make contact with the Beothuk.

This map, along with two others and a lengthy report on his excursion, were sent by Cartwright in 1773 to the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the vain hope of eliciting aid for the Beothuks. The map is packed with information — it shows the position of the Beothuk wigwams and square dwellings along the Exploits River, Indian "deer foils" (caribou fences), and areas with "sewels." Figures from 1 and 6 along the river mark the positions of Cartwright's party at the end of each day of travel, and hand-written notes contain geological observations.

Scholars have used the number of dwellings on the map to estimate the Indian population in 1768 — about 350. Equally important are the illustrations, the most detailed depictions of Beothuk artifacts now in existence. They include a distinctive canoe and paddle, a summer *mamateek* (wigwam), a bow and arrow, quivers, rectangular and round containers, an axe and "sewels" (sticks with bark tassels used to extend deer fences where tree cover was sparse). It is little enough left of a people who prior to white contact numbered more than 1,000.

The National Archives holds two other maps, (a general one of Newfoundland and a map of Triton Island and surrounding area in Notre Dame Bay) and the manuscript report "Remarks on the Situation of the Red Indians, natives of Newfoundland . . . taken on the spot in the year 1768," sent by Cartwright to Dartmouth. It is perhaps not surprising, given his sympathy for the weak and downtrodden, that Cartwright in the 1790s became a famous radical leader in British politics.



Map of the Exploits River. John Cartwright (1740–1824). Map: manuscript, hand-coloured, circa 1773. 38.8 × 30.2 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Cartographic and Architectural Archives Division (NMC 27).

X

A Symbol of Micmac Resistance, circa 1804

This Micmac catechism and grammar, written on alternate pages in Micmac and French, was transcribed by Joseph Gueguen (1741–1825) — who had himself laboured among the Micmac before the Conquest — for a new French missionary, Father Jean Mande Sigogne (1763–1844), who had arrived in 1799.

Roman Catholicism had flourished for the forty years after the Conquest, even though the Micmac had been without priests. The Micmac themselves had maintained manuscripts of what they called simply "the book" — a collection of biblical passages, a catechism, some psalms, hymns and prayers. Written in hieroglyphs on birchbark, it was copied as required.

The Micmacs were the first North Americans to come into contact with Europeans, and they had two hundred years of experience behind them when the British arrived. The gradualness of white penetration into their homeland had allowed them to come to terms with change, accept what they could and reject what they could not. They had reached an agreeable compromise with the French and they resisted the coming of the English. They maintained their band structure and clung to their Catholicism.

The Micmacs' religion was an act of defiance, commemorating their ties with the French. From the first, the Micmacs had incorporated their own beliefs into Christianity, a tendency that had been accentuated by a long absence of priests. Their religion had a strong native element, and they saw it as part of themselves. Catholicism continued to define them as a group distinct from the colonists around them, and their beliefs stiffened their will to fight assimilation.

Although the book illustrated has been a part of the Indian Affairs records in the National Archives since 1885, its significance has only recently been recognized. Native studies researchers and linguists are presently studying it in order to understand the degree to which religious terminology was assimilated into the Micmac language by the turn of the eighteenth century.

98

D. Qu'est-ce que le Sauveur?

R. C'est le fils unique de Dieu qui s'est fait homme, et qui a voulu se rendre tout semblable à nous.

D. Se sont-ils souvent homme a tel changé de nature?

R. Non certes il n'a pas cessé pour cela d'être vraiment Dieu.

D. Actuel comme nous un corps et une ame?

R. Oui puisqu'il a pris notre nature, de sorte qu'il est véritablement homme.

D. Depuis est-il né comme homme?

R. Il est né du sein de Marie.

D. Depuis est-il né comme Dieu?

R. Il est véritablement né de Dieu même.

D. Le fils de Dieu et le fils de Marie sont-ils deux personnes?

R. Non, c'est un seul Jésus Christ.

D. Pourquoi est-il dit que Jésus Christ a été conçu du St. Esprit?

R. C'est pour nous apprendre que Jésus Christ n'a été ni engendré ni conçu à la façon des autres hommes. Cet on a pour nous faire connaître que Jésus Christ n'a pas été conçu il n'est pas né comme nous dans le péché.

Micmac Catechism and Grammar. Transcription attributed to Joseph Gueguen (1741–1825). Manuscript volume, circa 1804.

National Archives of Canada: Government Archives Division, Records of the Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, vol. 738, pp. 87–88.

The Iroquois: Brother Against Brother, 1780

The Iroquois League, the most organized and powerful native grouping in northeastern North America, had its homeland in upper New York State. When the American Revolution broke upon it, the League was dismayed and puzzled by the spectacle of Englishman fighting Englishman; most Iroquois attempted to maintain an uneasy neutrality. In 1777, gifts and constant pressure finally ripped apart the "Longhouse" (as the Iroquois called their confederacy). Some supported the rebels; most remained loyal to the Crown.

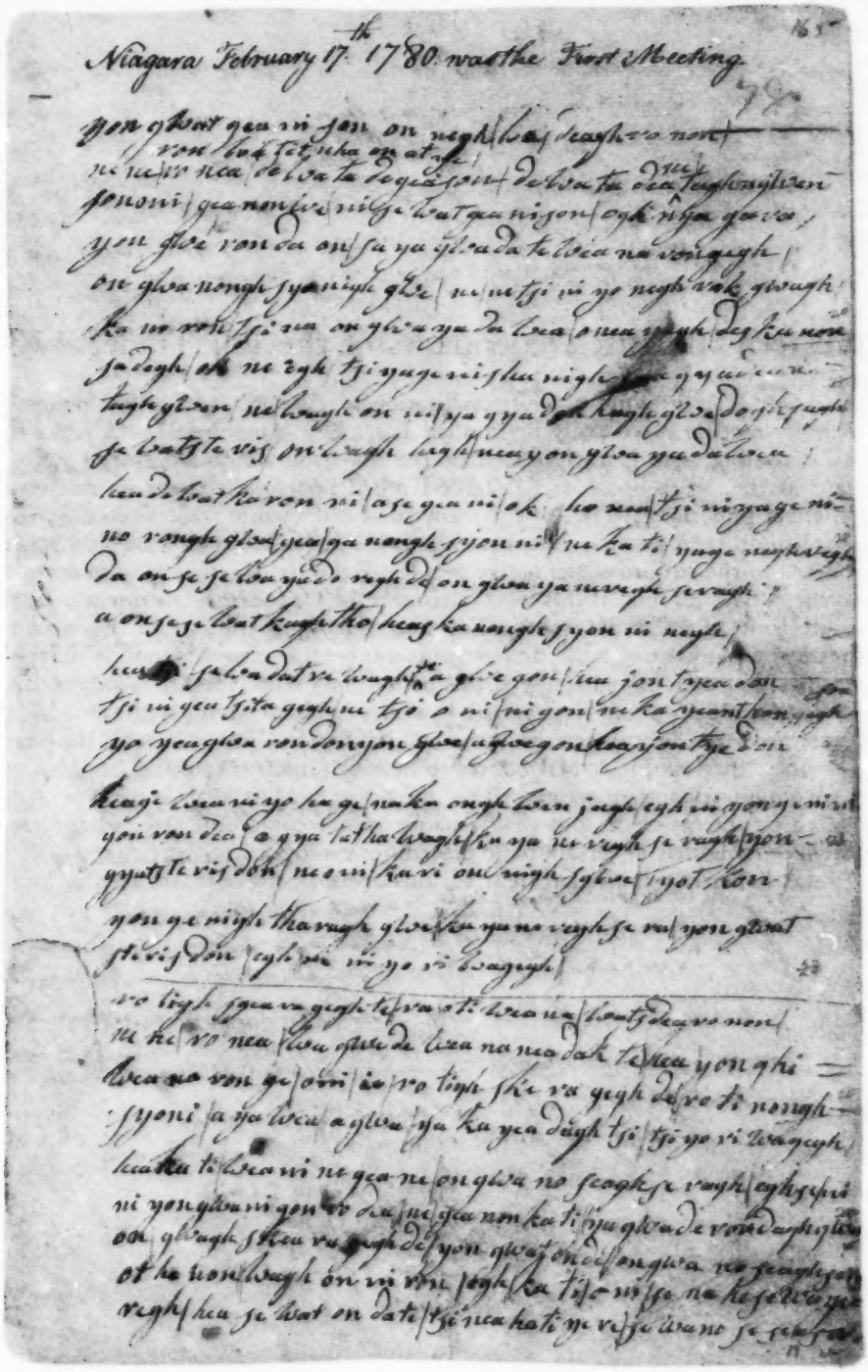
These poignant speeches, recorded on the spot in Mohawk, represent a last, futile attempt to restore unity. Little Abraham (d. 1780), an elderly Mohawk leader who had remained a true neutral, led a delegation of rebel Iroquois to the British stronghold at Fort Niagara in 1780. There he and the others begged the loyal Iroquois to lay down their arms and return home, to live in peace with the Americans. The speech shown runs in part:

> We have heard one another's words once more, we who were formerly of the Long House. What has happened to us is calamitous! There is now no Long House where you and I can safely tell each other our fears . . . You, who went away, should reconsider the policy of the Long House . . . so that all our people will live again upon our former firesides and plantations, and smoke will rise again from our former cabins and all will enjoy the lordship of their lands again. This is our mind.

But it was already too late. The Americans, the previous summer, had pillaged the Iroquois lands, levelling the settlements. There was no going home again.

Little Abraham was thrown into a windowless, unheated stone vault where he died, a disillusioned man. The loyal Iroquois fought on to the end of the war, when they were granted new land by the British at Grand River and Deseronto, Ontario. There, the gradual incursion of white settlement would radically alter their way of life.

The text of this speech comes from the Claus Family papers, which date from 1755 to 1886. Several members of the family were important officials in the Indian Department both before and after the American Revolution, and the papers contain correspondence, journals, accounts, and other records of the Clauses and other Indian Department officials relating to Canada's native peoples. Because of their high informational value, the papers have undergone extensive conservation and have been microfilmed.



Record of Proceedings of an Iroquois Council at Fort Niagara, 17 February 1780.

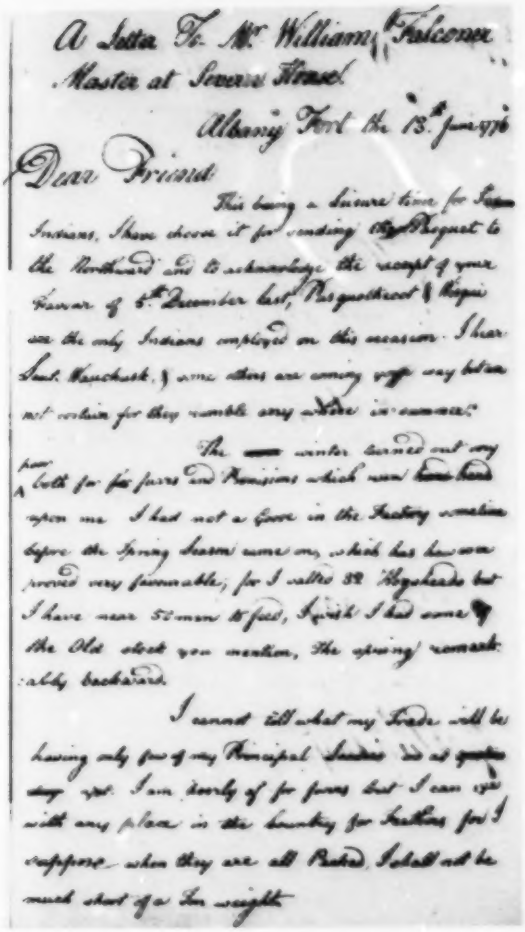
National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Claus Family papers, MG 19, F 1, vol. 2, p. 165.

X

Western Indians: Dependants of the Fur Trade? 1776

Further west, the pressures of white civilization were weaker, and natives maintained their independence more easily than in the East. This contemporary copy of a letter in a fur trading post journal hints that the fur trade was as dependent upon the Indians as they were upon it. Fur traders relied upon the Indians as couriers and suppliers of provisions — two of the many basic tasks white traders could not easily accomplish on their own. Giving presents to the Indians was an accommodation by Europeans to the culture of the native peoples. Basically, the traders were dependent upon the natives for furs. If this was "a leisure time for Indians," then it was perforce a leisure time at the trading posts. The letter mentions efforts and "inducements" to "retrieve and increase" trade. In part, this was because of rivalry among fur trading companies, but even more because at this period the Indians' demands for goods were inelastic. An Indian would trap enough to satisfy his basic needs, with some left over for entertainment. So, competitive terms and lavish gifts did not increase the demand for supplies; they simply caused natives to hunt less since they could bring in fewer furs to obtain what they wanted. This is not to suggest that natives were never exploited by the fur trade, but clearly native people could still demand and receive a system of trade that in certain basic procedures conformed to their own way of life.

Like the letter exhibited as Item 54, this one is a copy of record in a fur journal.



A Letter To Mr William Falconer
Master at Severn House

Albany Fort the 13th June 76

Dear Friend

This being a leisure time for the Indians, I have chose it for sending this Request to the Northward and to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of 6th December last, Pequettocut & Pequis are the only Indians employed on this occasion. I hear Saml Hanchett & some others are coming up very late not certain for they rumble very little in summer

The severe winter turned out very cold for furrs and Provisions which was very hard upon me. I had not a Goose in the Factory sometime before the Spring Season came on, which has however proved very favourable, for I killed 82 Wigeons but I have near 50 more to feel, I wish I had some of the Old stock you mention, the spring remarkably backward.

I cannot tell what my Trade will be having only five of my Principal Leaders to set out with yet. I am sorry of for furrs but I can vye with any place in the Country for feathers for I suppose when they are all Packed I shall not be much short of a Ton weight

I am entirely of your Opinion that Presents and Civil treatment are the greatest inducements to the the Indians I try all I can to retrieve & increase the Trade, Mr Isbell has made himself at Home, Mr Jarvis is gone from there Inland with Indians, & three Englishmen are going by themselves to explore the Country. I wish to God I had a supply of Rum, & a Roll of Tobacco of amongst them the Indians I doubt not but they would have more effect than the Eloquence of a Divine.

All Friends at Moose, East Main & Moose River whom were well when I heard last, I enclose your Letters, I hope this will reach Severn before you Sail, God send you a good voyage large Trade and every thing you can wish. Prays

Your Affectionate Friend
and Humble Servant

Thomas Hutchins

Letter To Mr Falconer
Master at Severn House

Letter, Thomas Hutchins to William Falconer, Albany Fort, 13 June 1776.

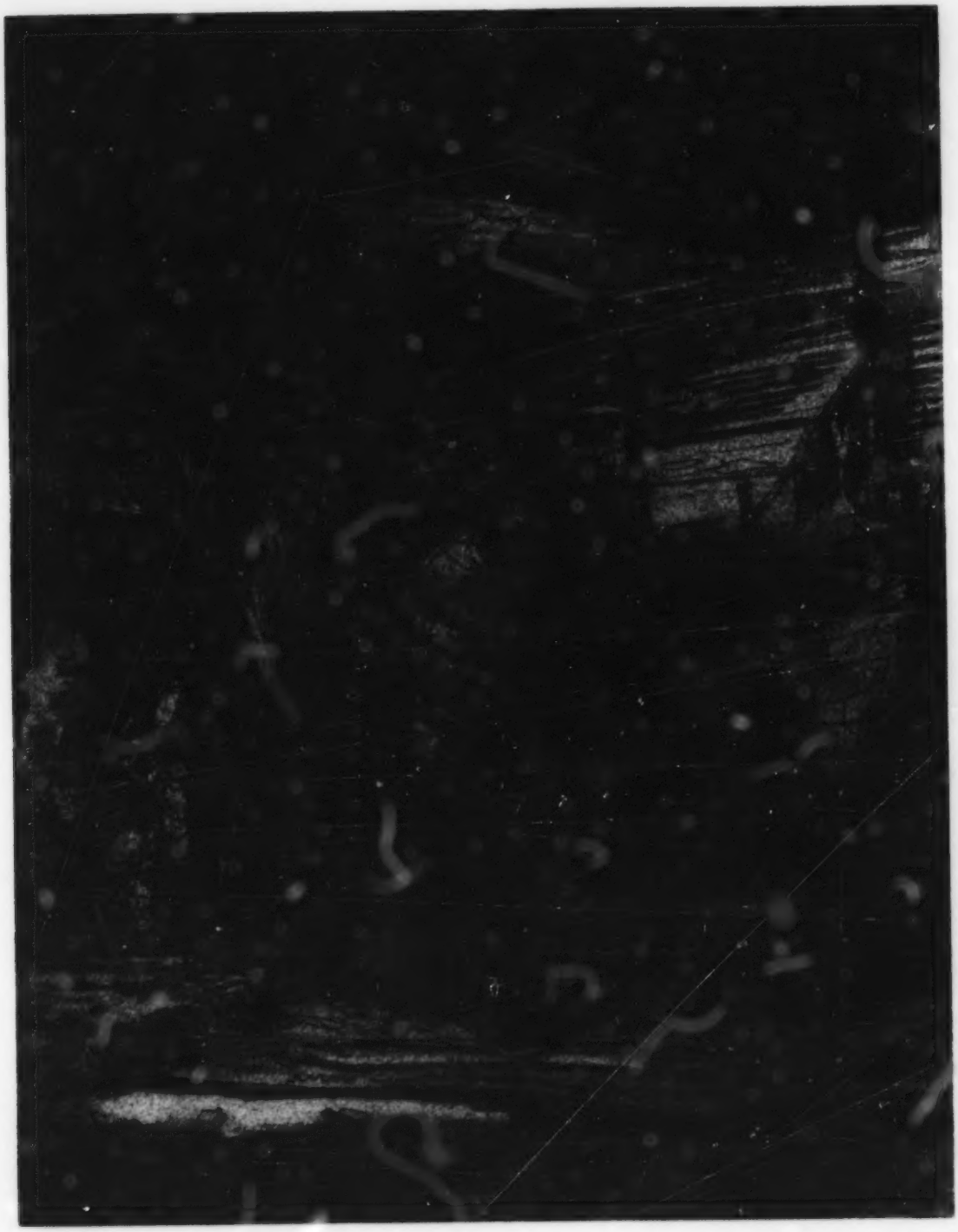
National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Severn House Journal, MG 19, D 2, vol. 2, unpaginated.

The Pacific Coast, 1778

In this sketch of a Nootka communal house, the only indication of the white man's influence is the sketch itself. The building is constructed of massive cedar planks and support beams from the local forest. The planks were of great value, handed down through generations. Clothing, hats and rugs were locally made, as the loom attests. Fish, the major food supply, are being roasted and suspended on horizontal poles above a fire for drying and smoking.

Contact with white civilization for Pacific Coast natives was quite limited. When they did trade, West Coast natives rapidly acquired a reputation for their discrimination and their ability to drive a hard bargain. The confidence the Indians showed in their trading was indicative of their power. The Indians could have destroyed any of the trading vessels that visited their villages.

This pencil sketch was probably executed by John Webber on the spot during Cook's visit to Nootka in 1778 (see Item 2).



Interior of Communal House with Women Weaving, Nootka. John Webber (1751–1793). Grey wash and pencil, March-April 1778. 19.1 × 14.6 cm.

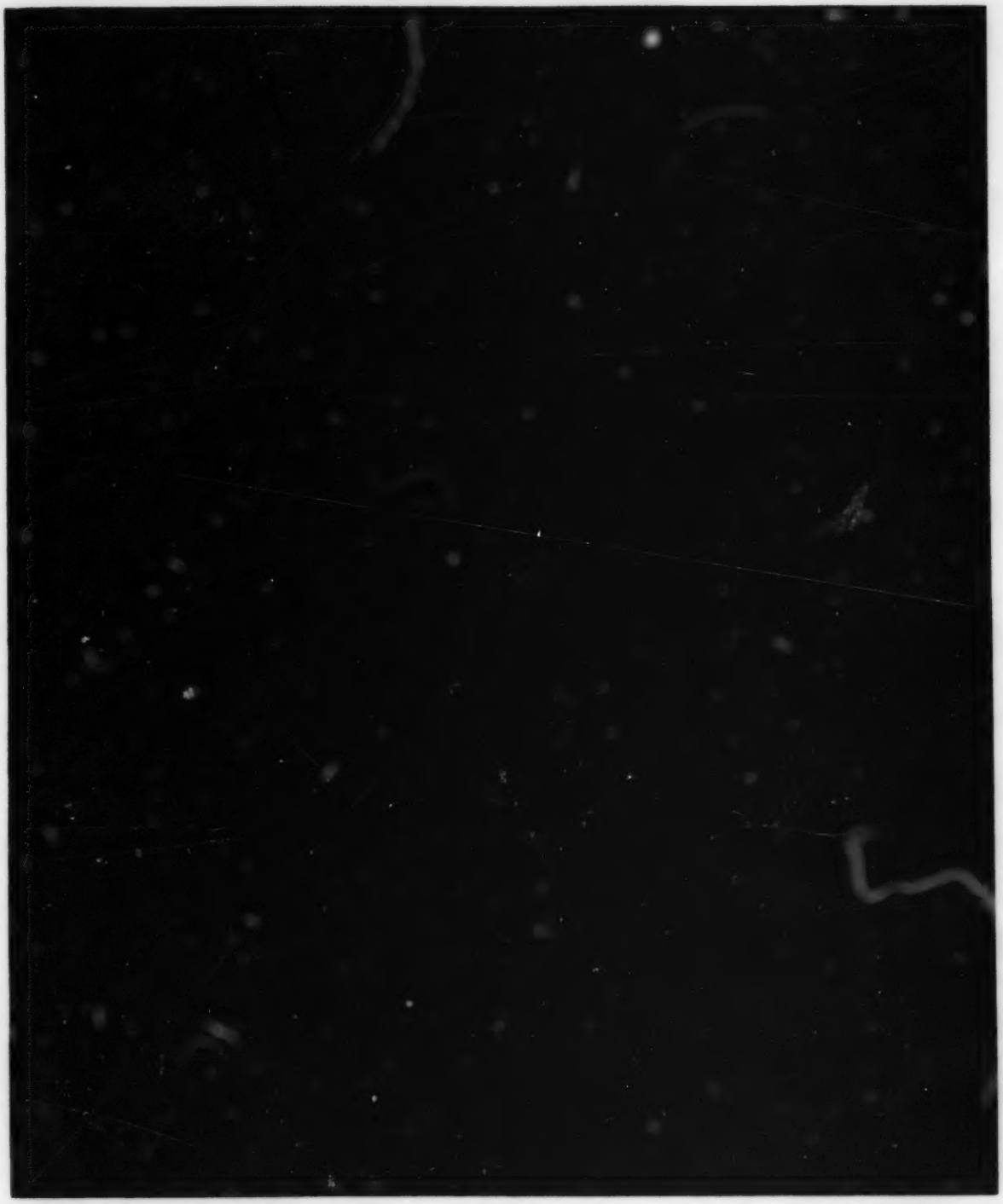
National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-2821).

An Extraordinary Painting of an Inuit Costume, circa 1768–1781

The Inuit, at this period the almost exclusive inhabitants of the Arctic, experienced very little contact with Europeans. The first sustained contact came between Moravian missionaries and Labrador Inuit in the 1770s. Except for this and fleeting trade at other locations, white culture had almost no impact upon them.

Rarity of contact makes information about the Inuit very valuable and gives this oil painting an exceptional ethnographic value. Among depictions of the time relating to native peoples, the work is unusual for its large size and the fact that it is an oil. The latest research suggests, moreover, that this painting is an accurate study of an authentic Labrador or Baffin Island Inuit costume modelled by a European woman in London between 1768 and 1781. The desire for thoroughness is evidenced by the presentation of both a front and a back view to capture the full costume. So great was the attention to detail that it is possible to identify the material from which the clothing was made. The wide, high boots are of special interest. The style appears to have died out in the nineteenth century, and no specimens of the boots exist today.

The artist, Angelica Kauffman (1741–1807), was a Swiss portrait painter who lived in London between 1766 and 1781. The National Archives also holds a companion oil of an Inuit man's costume.



Woman in Inuit Clothing, circa 1768–1781. Angelica Kauffman (1741–1807). Oil on canvas. 91.5 × 71.3 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-95201).

XI

War of 1812

On 18 June 1812, at the height of the Napoleonic conflict, the United States declared war on Great Britain and struck at the British possessions on the continent. The immediate cause was British action on the high seas — searching American ships for goods destined for enemy ports and impressment of American sailors.

The main battles of the war took place near the international boundary in modern Ontario and Quebec. Although now half-forgotten, the war posed a serious threat that the United States would capture and absorb Canada. Many colonists — with good reason — feared the American boast that taking Canada would be "a mere matter of marching."

XI

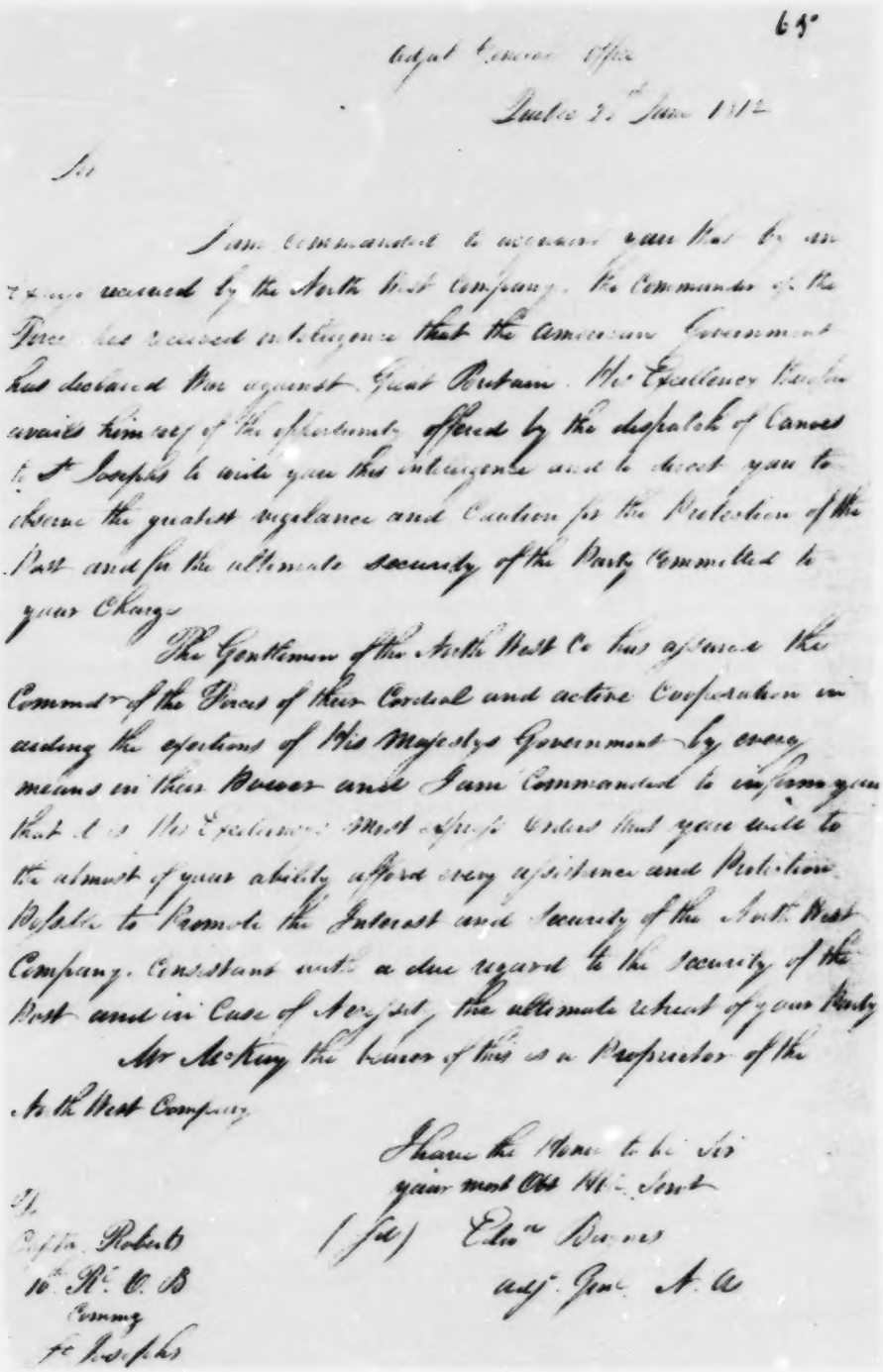
A Letter that Gave the British a Vital Warning, 1812

Through their commercial grapevine, the Canadian fur traders of the North West Company learned in June 1812 that the United States had declared war on Great Britain and her colonies in Canada. The merchants conveyed this electrifying news to British officials in Canada long before official channels brought word of hostilities.

A copy of this letter (this version is the British army's official deposit copy) was despatched immediately to Captain Charles Roberts, commander at St. Joseph's Island in Lake Huron, the most westerly British military post. The fur traders had worked quickly; Roberts also heard the news from a messenger from Amherstburg (Windsor) and via a letter from Major-General Isaac Brock.

As a result of the warning, the American garrison at nearby Mackinac Island awoke on the morning of 16 July to find the astonishing sight of 45 determined British redcoats, 180 voyageurs and fur traders, and 400 war-like Sioux, Chippewa, Winnebago, Menominee and Ottawa, backed by two six-pound brass cannons, demanding immediate surrender of the garrison. The dazed Americans did not even know there was a war on! They surrendered without a shot. The bloodless victory, along with the taking of Detroit, gave the British early control of the Michigan territory and the Upper Mississippi — as well as a sharp psychological edge over the supposedly "wily" Yankees.

The National Archives of Canada holds approximately 2,000 volumes of the records of the British army in Canada, which the British government agreed to leave after the army's withdrawal. They are a treasure trove of information not only on Canada's military history, but on her social and economic history as well.



65

Adjt Genl Office

Quebec 25th June 1812

Sir

I am Commanded to acquaint you that an Express arrived by the North West Company. The Commander of the Forces has received intelligence that the American Government has declared War against Great Britain. His Excellency therefore avails himself of the opportunity offered by the dispatch of Canoes to St Josephs to write you this intelligence and to direct you to observe the greatest vigilance and Caution for the Protection of the Post and for the ultimate security of the Party Commanded by your Charge

The Gentlemen of the North West Co has assured the Commander of the Forces of their Cordial and active Cooperation in aiding the operations of His Majesty's Government by every means in their Power and I am Commanded to inform you that it is His Excellency's most express Orders that you unite to the utmost of your ability afford every assistance and Protection possible to Promote the Interest and Security of the North West Company. Consistant with a due regard to the security of the Post and in Case of Attack the ultimate retreat of your Party

Mr McKay the bearer of this is a Proprietor of the North West Company

I have the Honor to be Sir
your most Obt Hble Servt
(Sgd) Edwd Baynes
adjt Genl N. A.

To
Capn Roberts
10th R. V. B
Coming
to Josephs

Letter, Edward Baynes, Adjutant General to Captain Charles Roberts, Quebec, 25 June 1812 [clerical copy].

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, British Military and Naval Records Series, RG 8, C Series, vol. 688A, p. 65.

An Indian Ceremony to Mark the Death of Brock, 1812

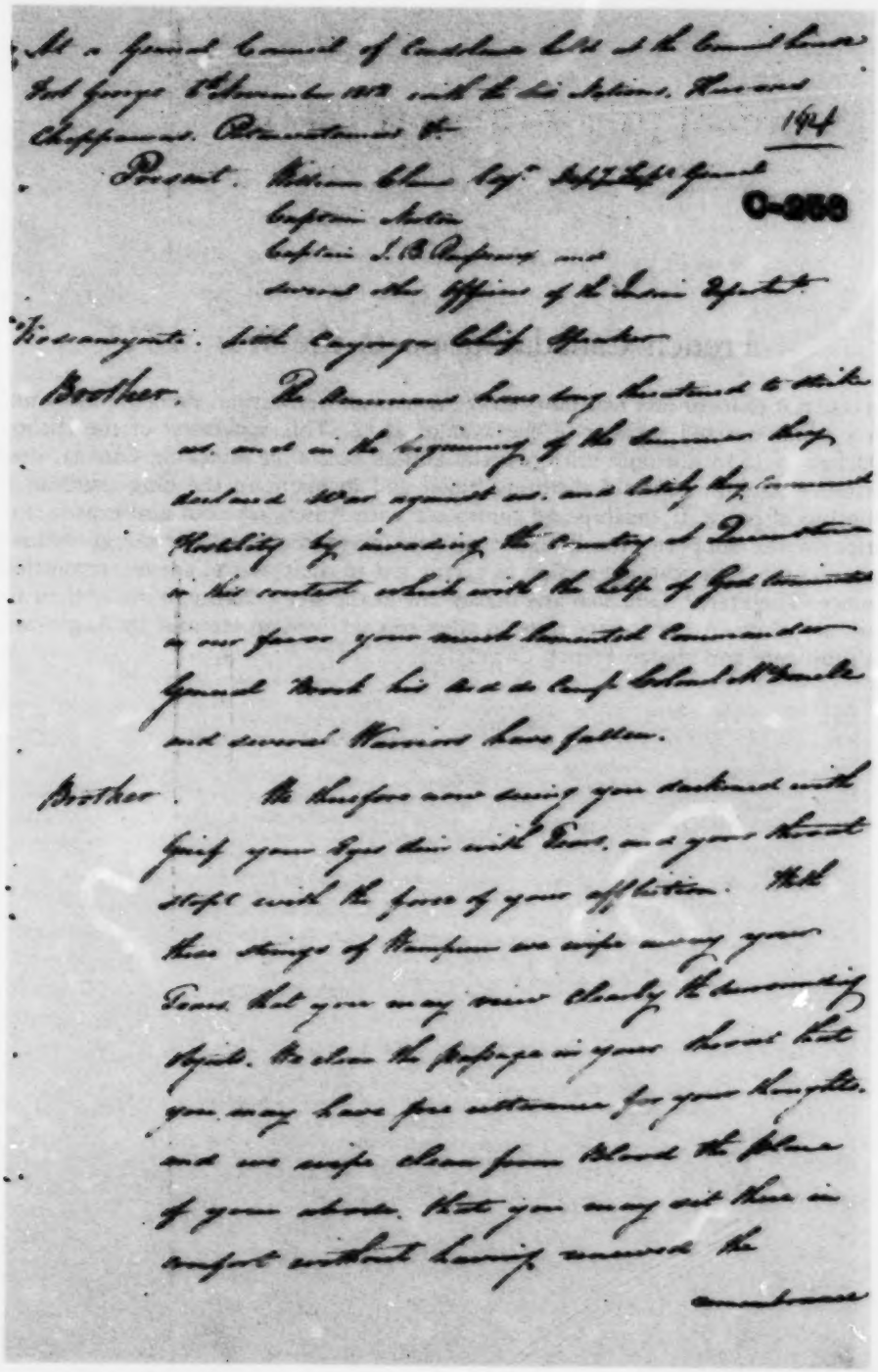
Having lost in the far West, the Americans risked a second army at Queenston Heights near Niagara and lost again. The British took 925 prisoners, but at the cost of the life of their brilliant commander, Sir Isaac Brock (1769–1812).

Brock was buried in a formal but simple funeral at Fort George on 16 October 1812. On 6 November, the Indian allies of the British, chiefly Iroquois, gathered to hold a solemn council of condolence.

The Indians had played a vital role at Queenston Heights. After Brock's fall, they had recommended the circuitous path the British and Canadians used to gain the heights. Four hundred Indians, along with a platoon of black troops, served as forward skirmishers, striking terror and confusion into the American ranks while the British regulars and Canadian militia advanced to rout them.

In his address, here translated by William Claus, the Deputy Superintendent General of the Indian Department, Koseanegonte, Chief of the Cayugas, uses ritual and poetic language to offer consolation to his people's white allies who are "darkened with Grief, your Eyes dim with Tears, and your throat stopt with the force of your affliction."

This report of an Indian council comes from the British Military and Naval Records Series in the National Archives. Because, until at least the end of the War of 1812, native peoples were viewed by the government primarily as military allies, there is an extensive amount of material on Indian affairs in this series. The National Archives also holds the records of the Department of Indian Affairs and its predecessors, covering all regions of the country and dating from 1677 to the present. The records presently fill a massive 2,600 metres of shelf space.



At a general Council of Condolence held at the Council House Fort George 6th November 1812 with the Six Nations, Mississaugas, Chippewas, Pottawatamies &c

194

Present. William Claus Esq. Deputy Superintendent General
Captain Kerr
Captain J. B. Askin and
several other Officers of the Indian Department

Interpreter. Little Captain Chief Speaker

Brother. The Americans have long thirsted to strike us, and in the beginning of the present unjust War against us, and lately by a formal Hostility by invading the Country of Queenston in the contest which with the Help of God we have gone through, your much lamented Commander General Brock has fallen a Sacrifice to his Zeal and several Warriors have fallen.

Brother. We therefore condole with you, dashed with grief your Eyes dim with Tears, and your Heart struck with the force of your affliction. We take these things of Sorrow we wipe away your Tears that you may more clearly behold the friendly Sky above the Darkness in your Breast that you may have free entrance for your thoughts, and we wipe clean from Blood the Place of your Abode, that you may set there in comfort without having removed the

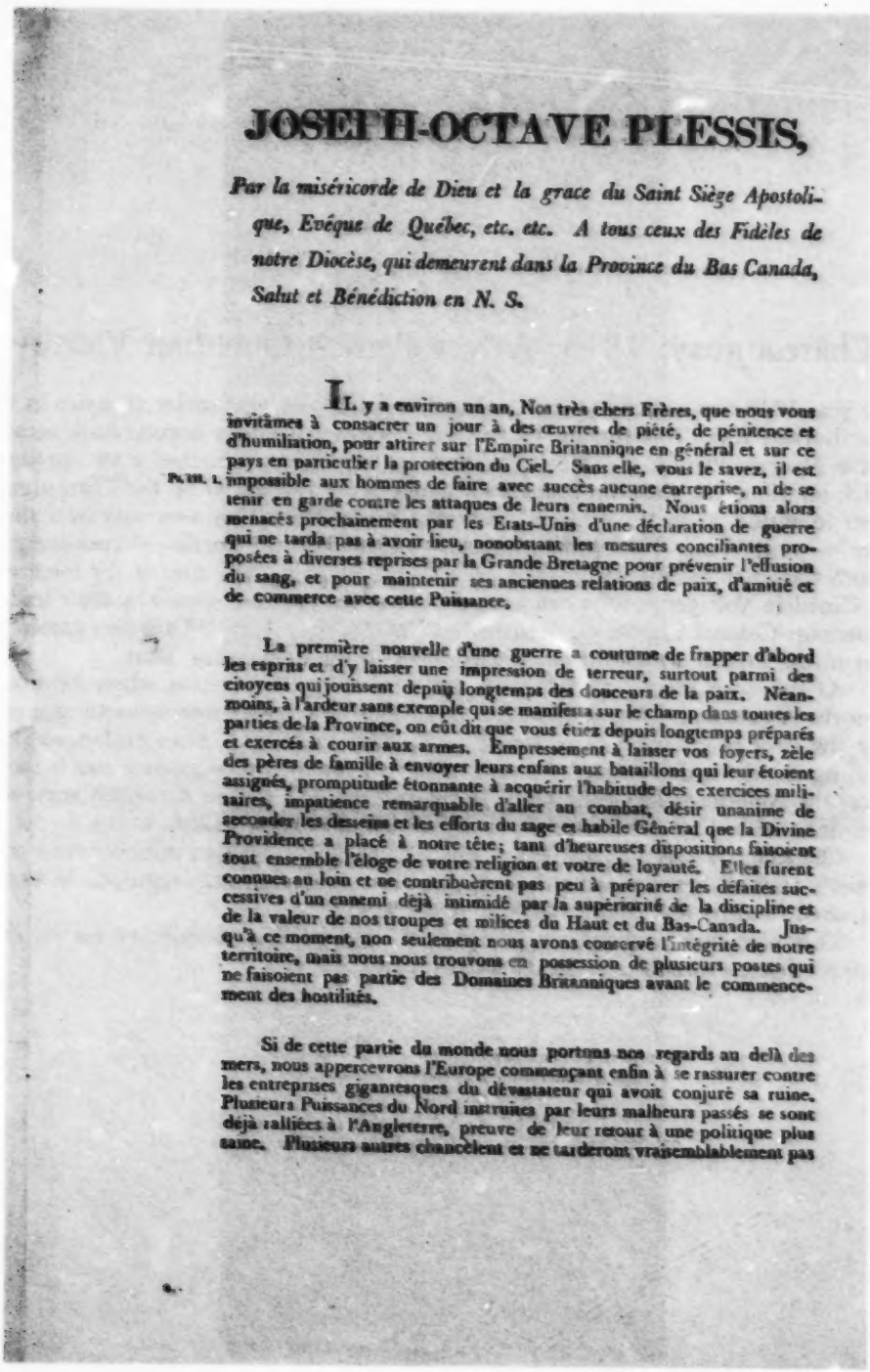
A General Council of Condolence Held at the Council House at Fort George on the Death of Brock, 6 November 1812.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, British Military and Naval Records Series, RG 8, C Series, vol. 256, p. 194.

XI

French Canada Supports the War, 1813

In contrast to its uneasy neutrality in the American Revolution, French Canada united in a whole-hearted support of the War of 1812. This *mandement* of the Bishop of Quebec in 1813 not only criticized the United States for attacking Canada, despite Britain's attempt to avoid shedding blood and to maintain the long-standing relationship of peace, friendship and commerce with Americans, but also expresses deep pride in the support French Canadians had given the war. The clergy militantly opposed the American aggression as giving aid to their mortal enemy, revolutionary France. The French Canadian aristocracy saw in the war a chance to revive their faded military glory. All of society resisted what to them was an attempt by Anglo-Saxons to subjugate and absorb French Canada.



JOSEPH-OCTAVE PLESSIS,

Par la miséricorde de Dieu et la grace du Saint Siège Apostolique, Evêque de Québec, etc. etc. A tous ceux des Fidèles de notre Diocèse, qui demeurent dans la Province du Bas Canada, Salut et Bénédiction en N. S.

IL y a environ un an, Nos très chers Frères, que nous vous invitâmes à consacrer un jour à des œuvres de piété, de pénitence et d'humiliation, pour attirer sur l'Empire Britannique en général et sur ce pays en particulier la protection du Ciel. Sans elle, vous le savez, il est
Ps. 126. 1. impossible aux hommes de faire avec succès aucune entreprise, ni de se tenir en garde contre les attaques de leurs ennemis. Nous étions alors menacés prochainement par les Etats-Unis d'une déclaration de guerre qui ne tarda pas à avoir lieu, nonobstant les mesures conciliantes proposées à diverses reprises par la Grande Bretagne pour prévenir l'effusion du sang, et pour maintenir ses anciennes relations de paix, d'amitié et de commerce avec cette Puissance.

La première nouvelle d'une guerre a coutume de frapper d'abord les esprits et d'y laisser une impression de terreur, surtout parmi des citoyens qui jouissent depuis longtemps des douceurs de la paix. Néanmoins, à l'ardeur sans exemple qui se manifesta sur le champ dans toutes les parties de la Province, on eût dit que vous étiez depuis longtemps préparés et exercés à courir aux armes. Empressement à laisser vos foyers, zèle des pères de famille à envoyer leurs enfans aux bataillons qui leur étoient assignés, promptitude étonnante à acquérir l'habitude des exercices militaires, impatience remarquable d'aller au combat, désir unanime de seconder les desseins et les efforts du sage et habile Général que la Divine Providence a placé à notre tête; tant d'heureuses dispositions faisoient tout ensemble l'éloge de votre religion et votre de loyauté. Elles furent connues au loin et ne contribuèrent pas peu à préparer les défaites successives d'un ennemi déjà intimidé par la supériorité de la discipline et de la valeur de nos troupes et milices du Haut et du Bas-Canada. Jusqu'à ce moment, non seulement nous avons conservé l'intégrité de notre territoire, mais nous nous trouvons en possession de plusieurs postes qui ne faisoient pas partie des Domaines Britanniques avant le commencement des hostilités.

Si de cette partie du monde nous portons nos regards au delà des mers, nous appercevrons l'Europe commençant enfin à se rassurer contre les entreprises gigantesques du dévastateur qui avoit conjuré sa ruine. Plusieurs Puissances du Nord instruites par leurs malheurs passés se sont déjà ralliées à l'Angleterre, preuve de leur retour à une politique plus saine. Plusieurs autres chancèlent et ne tarderont vraisemblablement pas

Mandement of Bishop Plessis, 22 April 1813. Pamphlet.

National Archives of Canada: Library (Negative no. C-130549).

XI

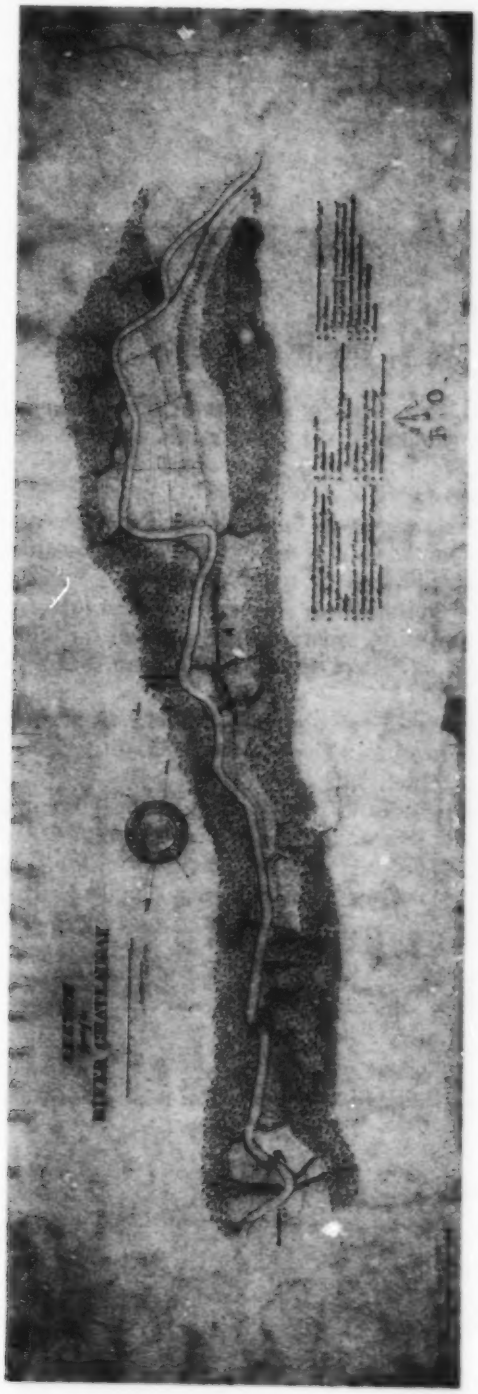
Châteauguay, 1813: A Key French-Canadian Victory

The year 1813 was a dark one for Canada: the Americans won major victories in the west; burned York (Toronto) and carried out intensive, if finally unsuccessful, attacks in the Niagara Peninsula. Late in the fall, the Americans launched a two-pronged attack on Montreal. One force of 4,000 regular troops advanced up the Châteauguay River to within 15 miles of the St. Lawrence River. There they were met by a small force — only about 500 of them actually engaged in the battle — consisting of French Canadian militia and some Upper Canadian Scots. The core of the force was the Canadian Voltigeurs, who had been drilled all the previous winter by their leader, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles de Salaberry (1778–1829), a French Canadian career officer in the British army with wide experience in the Napoleonic Wars.

As this map shows, de Salaberry chose carefully the position where he would meet the Americans — the spot where the road on which they were advancing veered near the river and was bordered on the other side by swamp. After prolonged skirmishing in which de Salaberry cleverly deployed his men to suggest a much larger force, the Americans lost their nerve and withdrew. The second American army was later defeated at Crysler's Farm.

Châteauguay was a small battle, but a handful of Canadian militia, some only partially trained, resisted and turned back an attack by American regulars. Montreal was saved, and its loss could well have cost the war.

This plan was prepared in August 1814 by the British military for its own reference from a sketch done by de Salaberry himself.



Sketch of Part of the River Châteauguay.
George Williams, R.M.S.D. Map:
manuscript, 9 August 1814.
101.1 × 33.3 cm.

National Archives of Canada:
Cartographic and Architectural Archives
Division (NMC 19176).

XI

Attack on Fort Oswego, 1814

Control of the Great Lakes was very important in the War of 1812. With limited land communications, the lakes were vital for moving men and supplies. The Americans gained and held control of Lake Erie from 1813, while the balance on Lake Ontario see-sawed between the two sides.

In early 1814, the completion of the *Prince Regent* (seen here on the left, close to shore) and the *Princess Charlotte* (centre of the view) gave the British a temporary advantage, which they exploited to attack Fort Oswego at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. The battle is seen in its early stages, with Swiss mercenaries, Upper Canadian militia, and marines storming ashore on the left and forming ranks, while seamen and marines armed with pikes are disembarking from the ships to land immediately below the fort on the right. The British took the fort, capturing large quantities of supplies. If they had pressed further inland to the Oswego Falls, they could have captured a major equipment cache and perhaps would have kept the American fleet out of action for the summer.

Lieutenant John Hewett (fl. 1806–1869), a Royal Marine upon whose drawing this aquatint was based, was in the thick of the fighting. According to a letter in the National Archives, he rushed the fort's flagstaff, climbed it under heavy fire and ripped down the American flag — which perhaps explains why the flag and flagstaff occupy a disproportionately large position in this view.

Attack on Fort Oswego, Lake Ontario, N. America, May 6th, 1814, Noon. John Hewett (fl. 1806–1869). Etched by Robert Hovell. London, 1 May 1815. Hand-coloured aquatint. 47.8 × 61.0 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative no. C-41207).

XI

Carnage at Fort Erie, 1814

Later in 1814, the Americans again crossed the Niagara River, taking Fort Erie. After a victory at Chippewa and a bloody draw at Lundy's Lane, they withdrew to the fort. The British army set up camp and constructed gun batteries, while the Americans extended the fort's defences, all of which can be seen on this plan.

After insufficient shelling of the fort, the British regulars on 15 August attempted a complicated night attack that the explosion of an ammunition magazine turned from defeat to disaster. The British casualties were an appalling 900 men.

On 15 September, an American sortie, for which the British were inexcusably ill-prepared, spiked three of the six British siege guns. Losses were heavy on both sides, and neither could claim a clear victory. The British withdrew to Chippewa and the Americans eventually re-crossed to Buffalo, blowing up Fort Erie on 5 November. The war in the Niagara peninsula had become increasingly bloody and senseless.

This contemporary manuscript copy was prepared by George D. Cranfield, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General at Kingston in 1815, for future reference from an original done on the spot by Lieutenant W.A. Nesfield. It passed out of the military's hands and came to the National Archives as part of a private collection.

"Plan of the Operations of the British Army in front of Fort Erie, in the Months of August & September, 1814." George D. Cranfield, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General, after Lt. W. A. Nesfield. Map: manuscript, hand-coloured, 3 May 1815. 58.4 × 49.4 cm.

National Archives of Canada: Cartographic and Architectural Archives Division (NMC 22341).

XI

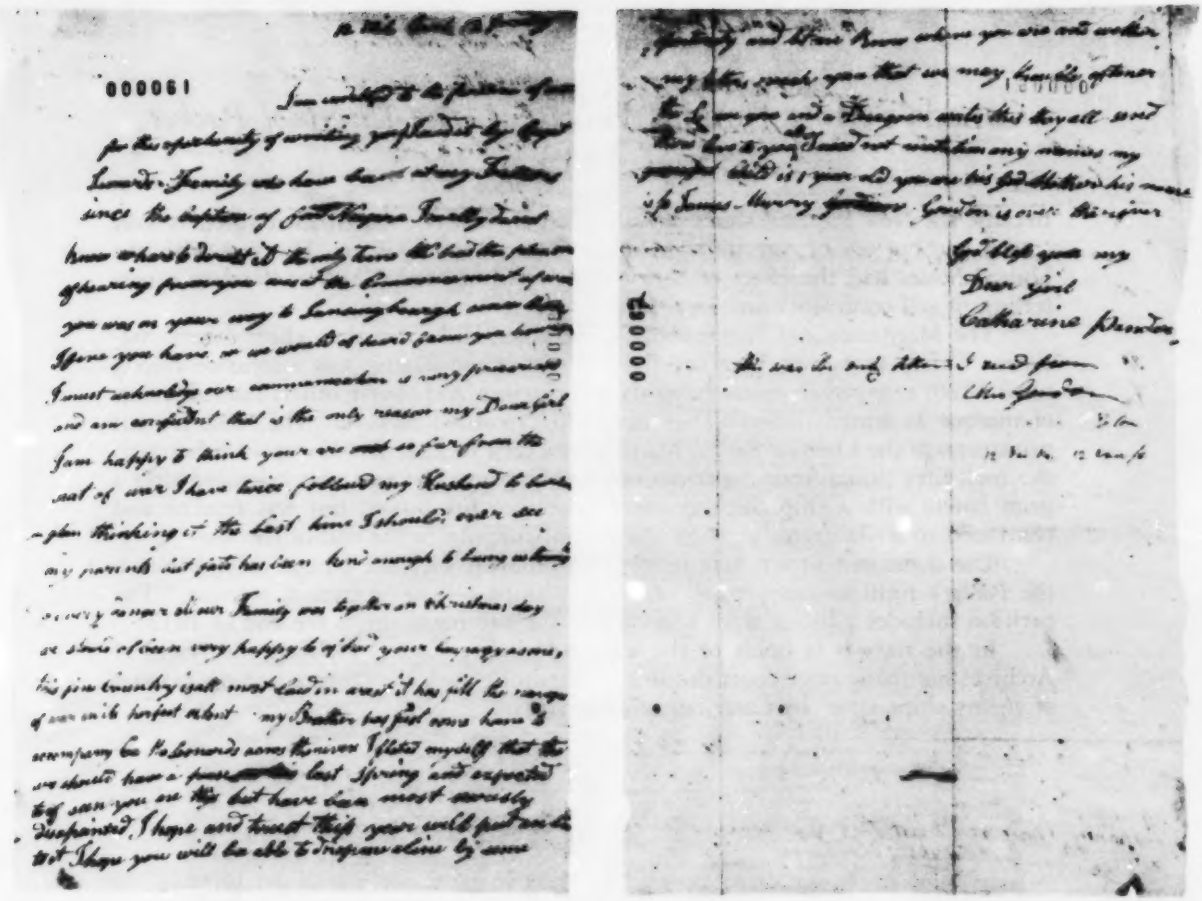
A Woman's View of the War, 1814

Surviving letters, diaries and journals that record the everyday thoughts and concerns of people are not very common for this period, and those by women are especially rare.

The "Mrs. Gordon" who wrote this letter is possibly the wife of James Gordon, an assistant commissary during the War of 1812. Catharine Prendergast, the recipient, was living at this date in the United States.

Through the letter, a reader gets some sense of the stress the war was causing Mrs. Gordon. She laments that "this fine country is all most laid in wast" and longs for peace. Despite the fact she has a one-year-old child, she had twice accompanied her husband as the British army in 1813 retreated up the Niagara peninsula. She had not expected to see her parents, who had stayed behind, alive again, but is touchingly grateful that her entire family survived to be together on Christmas day. Her fervent wish concerning the conflict is "I hope and trust this year will put an end to it."

This letter comes from the Merritt Family papers. Catharine Prendergast was the fiancée of William Hamilton Merritt, later builder of the Welland Canal. The papers contain rare personal letters dating back to the American Revolution and before.



Letter, Mrs. Gordon to Catharine Prendergast, 12 Mile Creek, 12 January [1814].

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Merritt Family papers, MG 24, E 1, vol. 3, pp. 61–62.

XI

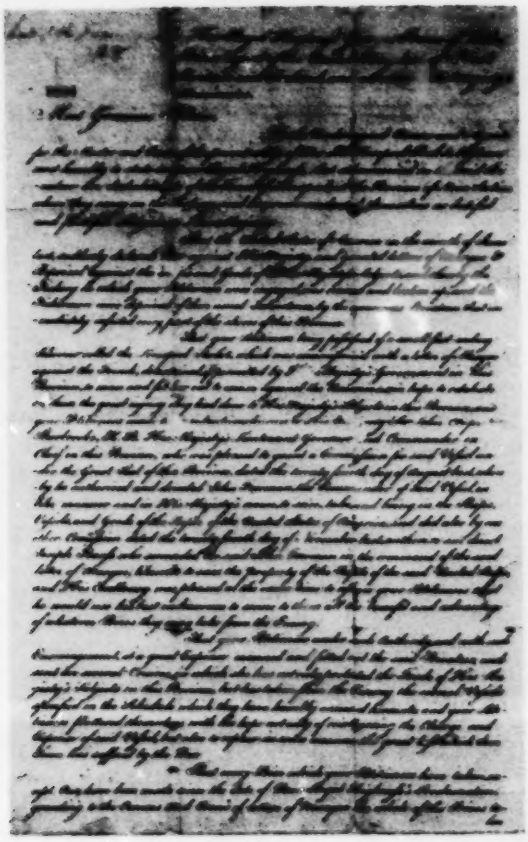
Canada's Most Famous Privateer, the *Liverpool Packet*, 1813

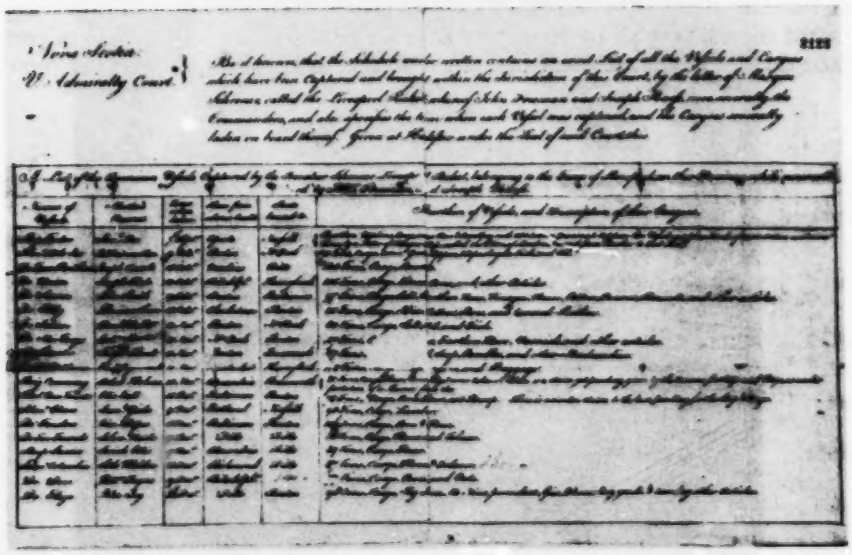
Because the New England states remained largely neutral, the Atlantic colonies were spared the horrors of war inflicted upon Ontario and Quebec. The war with the United States had the effect of lifting the Maritimes and Newfoundland to a new feeling of self-confidence and local pride.

The Maritimes and Newfoundland, however, did more than cheer others' victories. Thirty-seven vessels of the five colonies (Cape Breton was a separate colony until 1820) engaged in privateering during the war, and twelve others carried letters of marque as armed traders. They made 207 recorded captures. The most famous privateer was the *Liverpool Packet*. Manned by a crew of forty-five Liverpool fishermen, she took fifty prizes from American coastal shipping. She was once captured after a grim battle with a ship carrying three times her fire power, but was retaken and continued to strike terror amongst American shipping to the end of the war.

The document shown here relates to a problem with the official recognition of the *Packet*'s right to capture and sell enemy ships — her "letters of marque." The petition includes a list of ships and cargoes she had taken up to the end of 1812.

In the records it holds of the Vice Admirality Court, Halifax, the National Archives has many prize court documents outlining both the capture and the cargoes of enemy ships taken by Canadian privateers.





Petition to George, Prince Regent, by the Master and Crew of the *Liverpool Packet*, 1813 [copy].

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, MG 24, I 182, vol. 4, pp. 2124 and 2126.

XI

The Upper Canada Preserved Medal, 1813

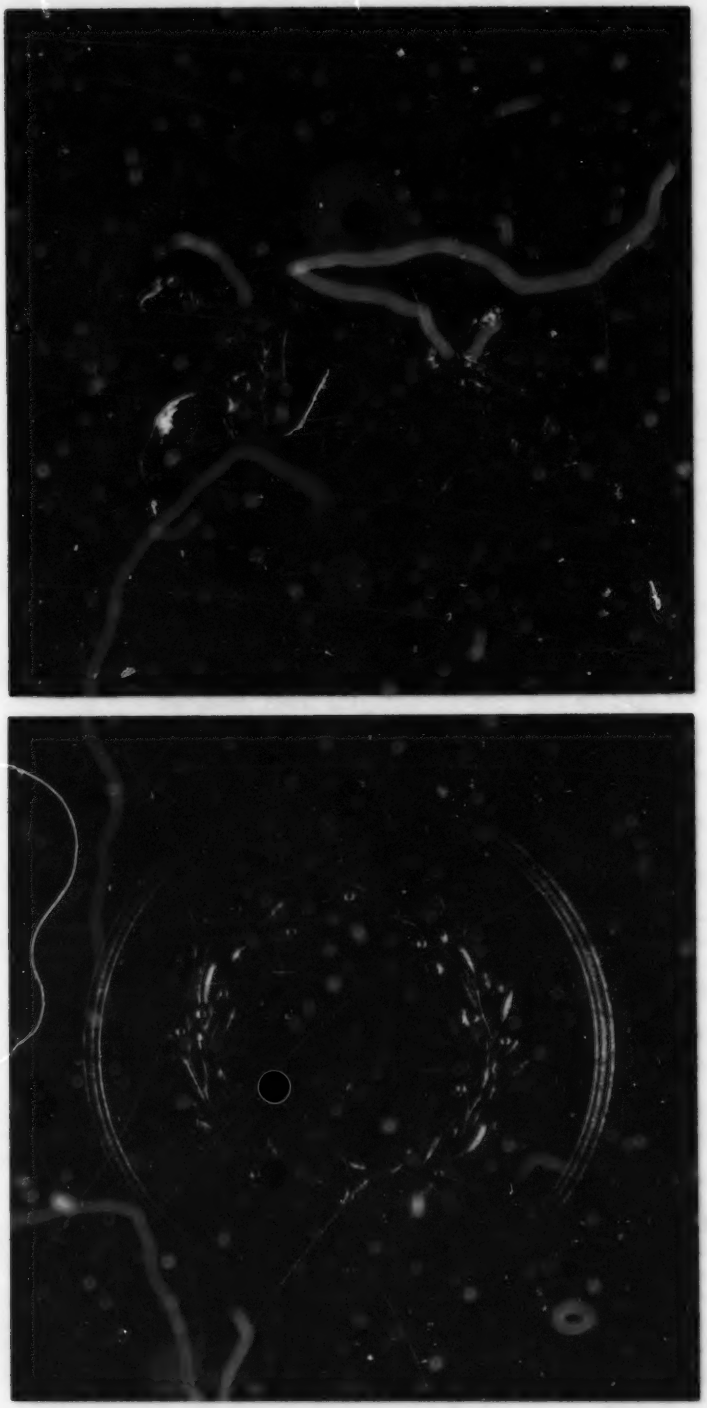
The War of 1812 ended in a stalemate; the Treaty of Ghent re-established the status quo before the war. Canadians, however, could be proud of their role in fighting a powerful enemy to a stand-off in a war they had had no wish to incur.

A number of medals were issued by the British authorities relevant to the War of 1812 "in commemoration of the brilliant and distinguished events in which the success of His Majesty's arms has received the royal approbation." It was decided to honour the engagements at Fort Detroit, Chateauguay and Crysler's Farm.

In addition, a special medal was struck by a colonial organization, the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada, formed in the early months of the war to relieve wartime distress and commemorate conspicuous bravery. The obverse of the medal showed, as the directors described it in 1813:

> A streight between two lakes, on the north side a Beaver (emblem of peaceful industry), the ancient armorial bearing of Canada. In the background an English lion slumbering. On the south side of the streight, the American eagle planeing in the air, as if checked from seizing the Beaver by the presence of the Lion. . . .

Recipients were to be recommended by officers of the militia. Because of the large number of recipients recommended and because of controversy over the authority to award the medals, all the extant ones — 62 gold and 550 silver — were eventually melted down. This medal is a modern re-strike, made from the original moulds.



Obverse and reverse of "Upper Canada Preserved" medal, 1813 (modern re-strike). Struck in silver. Diameter 51 mm.

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division.

Index

A

A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean... (1784), 4
Acadians, 28, 42, 104
Advertising, 188
Agriculture
  New Brunswick, 104, 142
  French Canada, 144
Alaska, 2, 6, 10
Albany Fort, Hudson Bay, 120
Aldrich, Stephen, 70, 71
Allan, William, 84
Alline, Henry (1748–1784), 156, 157
Almanacs, 174
American Revolution, 38, 42, 45, 48, 62, 80, 94, 102, 124, 134, 156, 172, 202, 216, 224
Amherst, Jeffery, 1st Baron Amherst, 17
Amherstburg. *See* Windsor
Anglican Church. *See* Church of England
Annapolis Valley, 42
Anonymous, 31, 39, 41, 101, 109, 135, 155, 162
Anticosti Island, 92
Apprentice, 150
Arctic, 208
Arctic Ocean, 12
Armed Forces (Canada)
  Canadian Voltigeurs, 218
  Upper Canadian Militia, 220
Armed Forces (Great Britain)
  40th Regiment, 146
  49th Regiment, 146
  70th Regiment, 54
  British Army, 36, 212, 213, 214, 222
  Loyalist Regiments (King's Royal Regiment of New York), 50, 56
  Royal Artillery, 50, 170
  Royal Engineers, 50, 58, 82
  Royal Marines, 220
  Swiss Mercenaries, 220
Arnold, General Benedict, 52
Arrowsmith, Aaron (1750–1833), 12, 13, 14, 15
Arrowsmith firm, 12, 13, 15, 52
Artist unknown. *See* Anonymous
Assiniboine River, 122
Athabasca Country, 12
Athabasca, Lake, 12
Atlantic Coast, 16, 134
Atlantic Ocean, 54, 110, 126
Atlantic Neptune (1775–1781), 16, 132
Author unknown. *See* Anonymous

B

Baffin Island, 208
Baie St. Paul, 18
Baker, Joseph, 11
Baldwin, William Warren, 84
Ballanden, John, 121
Baptists, 156, 164
Baptists, Shaftesbury Association, 164
Barbados, 134
Barnes, Edward, 213
Bécancour, Seignieury of, 66
Bell, Charles, Collection, 117
Bella Coola River, 12
Beothuks, 198
Berczy, William (1744–1813), 161, 176
Berger, Charles, 47
Bering Strait, 6
Berthier, Seigneury of, 36
Birds, sketches of, 146
Bishop of Quebec, 34, 158, 160, 172, 192, 216
Black troops, 214
Blacks, 104
Booth, William (fl. 1785–1788), 58, 59
Borel, François-Xavier, 162
Boscawen, Admiral Edward, 24, 27
Boston, Mass., 48
Boston, Ont., 164
Botany, 178
Britain. *See* England and Great Britain
British, 4, 21, 24, 28, 30, 32, 38, 42, 62, 134, 144, 200
British Columbia, 10
British Military and Naval Records Series, 214
British North America, 62, 65, 66, 68, 72, 92, 142, 182
British North America (gov't.)
  Deputy Postmaster General of British North America, 182
  Surveyor General of the Northern District of America, 16
British party (Quebec), 98
Brock, Major-General Sir Isaac (1769–1812), 212, 214
Brooke, Frances (d. 1789), 168
Brooklyn, N.Y., 80
Buffalo, N.Y., 222

C

Calvinism, 156
Cameron, Duncan, 84
Campbell, Lieutenant Dugald, 142, 143
Campbell, Patrick (fl. 1760–1823), 142, 143
Campbell, Robert, 105
Canot, P., 23
Canton, China, 8
Cape Breton, 16, 42, 68, 102, 226
Carleton, Sir Guy (1724–1808), 30, 60, 74, 194
Carson, William (1770–1843), 110, 111
Cartographer unknown. *See* Anonymous
Cartwright, John (1740–1824), 198, 199
Cat Lake, 120
Cayugas, 214
Census, 18, 42, 66
Chamberlaine, Ts., 75
Charity, 186
Charland, Louis, 92, 93
Château St. Louis, 182
Châteauguay, Battle of, 218, 228
Chaudière River, 52
Chignecto Isthmus, 42
Chipewyan, 12
Chipman, Ward, Junior, 124
Chipman, Ward, Senior, 124
Chipman Family Papers, 125
Chippewa, 212
Chippewa, Ont., 222
Church of England, 154
  Bishops, 38
Clark, Robert, 106, 107
Claus, William, 214
Claus Family papers, 202, 203
Clergy Reserves (Ont.), 76
Coastal trade, 136
Cod, 138
"Colas et Colinette, ou le Bailli dupé," 172

Collins, Enos (1774–1871), 136
Colnett, James, 8
Colonial Journal, 80
Columbia River, 14
Conception Bay, Nfld., 138
Congregationalism, 154
Conquest, The, 18, 21, 28, 30, 34, 36, 42, 153, 158, 167, 200
Constitutional Act of 1791, The, 90, 92, 94
Continental Congress, 46
Cook, Captain James (1728–1779), 6, 8, 10, 16, 206
Cooper, 8
Cooper, William, 84
Cooper's Tavern, York, 84
Coppermine River, 12
Costume, 154, 182, 208
  Sketches of, 146
Coverdale (Manoir Richelieu) Collection, 22
Craig, Sir James (1748–1812), 100
Cranfield, George D., 222, 223
Crignion, C., 35
Crime, 194
Criminal Law, 194
Crown Point, N.Y., 50
Crown Reserves, Ont., 76
Crysler's Farm, Battle of, 218, 228

D

Dartmouth, N.S., 148
Dartmouth, second Earl of. *See* Legge, William
Dartmouth Papers, 43, 115
Davis and Barker, 148
Dedham, William, 150, 151
Der Neuschottländische Calender Auf das Jahr Christi, 1789, 174
Desbarats, P.E., 33
DesBarres, Joseph Frederick Wallet (1722–1824), 16, 17, 18, 132, 133
  Papers, 16
Deseronto, Ont., 202
Detroit, 212
Dickson, 8
Diet, 170
Dixon Entrance, B.C., 10
Doe, Andrew, 150
Dorchester, Lord. *See* Carleton, Sir Guy
Douglas, Thomas (1771–1820), 122, 123
Drucour, 24
Duckworth, Sir John (1748–1817), 138
  Papers, 139
Dulongpré, Louis (1754–1843), 176, 177
Dundas Street, Ont., 90
Dunham Township, Que., 76

E

Edinburgh, Society of, 178
Education, 34, 160
Edward, Duke of Kent, 80
Edwards, J., 11
Elections (Quebec), 96, 100
England, 8, 80, 106. *See also* Great Britain
Entertainment
  Comic Opera, 172
  Dance, 182
  Folk Art, Songs and Stories, 167
  Music, 24, 172, 182
  Theatre, 172
Erie, Lake, 146, 220
Espinosa y Tello, Jose, 3
Exploits River, Nfld., 198
Extraits des titres des anciennes concessions de terre en fief et seigneurie... (1803), 92

F

Faden, William (1750–1836), 52, 53, 62, 63, 91
Falconer, William, 205
Falmouth, N.S., 156
Fidler, Peter, 12
Field, Robert, 176
Fish, 136
Fisheries, 40, 113, 138
Fishing, 180
Ford, Lieut. E.J., 145
Fort Chambly, Que., 50
Fort Detroit, Battle of, 228
Fort Erie, Ont., 222
Fort George, Ont., 214
Fort Massey, Halifax, 54
Fort Michillimackinac, Michigan, 114
Fort Niagara, Ont., 202
Fort Oswego, N.Y., 220
Fort Saint-Louis, Québec City, 22
Fort St. Jean, Que., 50
France, 16, 24, 28, 176, 216
Fraser, Simon, 14
Fraser, Thomas, 129
Fraser, William, 129
Fraser River, 12
Fredericton, 104
French, 21, 28, 42, 62, 134, 200
French Canada, 46, 160, 216. *See also* Quebec.
French Canadians, 74, 158
French Regime, 34
French Revolution, 8, 90, 160, 176
Fueter, Daniel Christian, 25
Fundy, Bay of, 104, 140
Fur trade, 8, 12, 30, 32, 38, 113, 114, 116, 120, 144, 204
Fur traders, 118, 212
Furlong, R.S., 138

G

Gaspé, 140
George III, 80
George's Island, 80
Germans, 42, 70, 174
Glengarry County, Ont., 72
Glenie, James (1750–1817), 104
Gordon, James, 224
Gordon, Mrs., 224, 225
Grand Banks, Nfld., 110
Grand River, Ont., 202
Grant, 116
Great Awakening, The, 156
Great Britain, 16, 40, 118, 138, 160, 178, 211, 212, 216.
  See also England
Great Britain (gov't.)
  Admiralty, 16
  Board of Trade, 42
  Board of Ordnance, 74
  Secretary of State for the Colonies, 198
  Secretary of State for the American Department, 42
Great Lakes, 12, 62, 92, 113, 114, 220
Grist mill, Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, 148
Gueguen, Joseph, (1741–1825), 200, 201

H
Haldimand, Major-General Frederick, 48, 49
Papers, 48
Hale, Elizabeth Frances (1774–1826), 84, 85, 130, 131
Sketchbook, 131
Halifax, 42, 48, 54, 80, 84, 86, 148, 174, 176
Belle Vue, 80
Citadel, The, 80
Citadel Hill, 54, 80
Fort Massey, 54
Government House, 80
Point Pleasant, 54
Public School, 186
St. George's Church, 80
Halifax Public School Lottery, 186
Hancock, John, 46, 47
Harris, G.F., 109
Hawaii, 6
Hearne, Samuel, 12
Hecate Strait, B.C., 10
Henrich, Anthon (1734–1800), 174, 175
Henry, Alexander, 170
Henry, Alexander, the Elder (1739–1824), 30, 31, 170
Henry, Anthony. *See* Henrich, Anthon.
Heriot, George, (1759–1839), 182, 183
Hewett, Lieutenant John (fl. 1806–1869), 220, 221
Hicks, Edward (fl. 1778–1782), 54, 55
Holland, Samuel (1728–1801), 16, 77
Hospitals, 190
Houser, Frederick, 125
Hovell, Robert, 221
Hudson Bay, 12, 113, 118
Hudson's Bay Company, 12, 14, 118, 120
Hull, Que., 126
Hunter, James (fl. 1776–1792), 50, 51
Huron, Lake, 212
Hutchins, Thomas, 205
Hydrographic survey, 10
Hymns, 162

I
Île aux Coudres, 18
Immigration
American, 92
To Quebec, 32, 66
Scottish and Irish, 104
Insurance, 188
Inuit, 208
Ireland, 42, 154
Iroquois, 202, 214

J
James Bay, 113, 118
Janvrin, 141
Jefferys, Thomas (circa 1710–1771), 23, 35, 52
Jersey, Island of, 140
Jones, John (1737–1800), 154

K
Kauffman, Angelica, (1741–1807), 208, 209
Kennebec River, 52
King, James, 4
Kingston, Ont., 56, 222
Koseanegonte, 214

L
L'Anglomanie, ou Le Dîner à l'anglaise, 172
Labrador, 208
Lake Champlain-Richelieu River route, 50
Lake of the Woods, 62
Land Boards (Que. and Ont.), 60
Land Committee of the Executive Council, Quebec, 70
Land ownership, 32
Land system, French-Canadian, 144
Lande, Lawrence M., Collection, 171, 172, 173
Lapérouse, 8
Laverdure, Joseph, 116, 117
Lawing, William, 70
Le Canadien, 100, 172
"Le Dépit Ridicule ou le Sonnet perdu," 172
Legge, William, (1731–1801), 42, 114, 198
Les Cèdres, Que., 18
Letter to Members of Parliament (1812), 110
Lewis and Clarke Expedition, 14
Library of Congress, 30
Liquor, 192
Literature, 168
Little Abraham (d. 1780), 202
Liverpool, N.S., 136, 226
Lochaber, Inverness-shire, Scotland, 72
Lockman, 24, 26
London, England, 14, 24, 90, 168, 208
London Magazine, 24, 38
Lotteries, 186
Louisbourg, 21, 24, 27
Lowe, Thomas, 24
Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada, 228
Loyalists, 45, 48, 56, 58, 60, 68, 78, 92, 94, 102, 104, 124
Loyalists, "Late," 70
Lumber, 126, 136
Lumbering, 104, 113, 124
Lundy's Lane, Battle of, 222
Lunenburg, N.S., 42, 174

M
Mackenzie, Alexander, 12
Mackenzie River, 12
Mackinac Island, 212
Madawaska, Que., 86
Mandement, 158, 216
Manitoba, 72, 122
Manitoba, Provincial Archives of, 120
Mann, Gother (1747–1830), 82, 83
Maritimes, 18, 21, 28, 42, 45, 56, 58, 60, 62, 68, 70, 130, 132, 134, 156, 226
Martin, Charles-Amador (1648–1711), 162
Martínez Fernandez y Martínez de la Sierra, Esteban José (circa 1742–1798), 8, 9
"Mass and Office of the Holy Family," 162
Massachusetts, 48, 124
McDonnell, Miles (1767–1828), 122, 123
Papers, 123
McIntyre, 143

McMillan, Archibald (circa 1761–1832), 72
Papers, 72, 73
McNab, John, 120, 121
Meares, John, 8
Medals, 24
Mediterranean Countries, 138
Memphramagog, Lake, Que., 70
Menominee, 212
Merritt, William Hamilton, 224
Hamilton Family Papers, 224, 225
Mesplet, Fleury (1734–1794), 46, 47
Methye Portage, 12
Mexico, 62
Michigan, Lake, 114
Michigan Territory, 212
Micmac, 200
Mississippi, 62, 114, 212
Mohawk, 202
Mohigrans, 25
Monterey, California, 2
Montgomery, General Richard (1736–1775), 50, 52
Montmorency, 180
Montreal, 12, 18, 21, 25, 26, 27, 30, 46, 50, 52, 72, 98, 113, 114, 116, 118, 120, 172, 190, 218
Montreal Gazette/La Gazette de Montréal/ Gazette, 46
Montreal Island, 18
Moravians, 70
Moravian Missionaries, 208
Murray, General James (d. 1794), 18
Music, 162, 182

N

Napoleonic Wars, 80, 113, 126, 134, 138, 176, 211, 218
Nashwaak River, 142
National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England, 138
Native peoples, 32, 118. *See also* various tribal groupings
Neele, S.I., 105
Neilson, John (1776–1848), 96, 98, 99, 105, 188, 189
Neilson, Samuel (1771–1793), 96, 97, 98
Papers, 96, 188
Nesfield, Lt. W.A., 222, 223
New Brunswick, 42, 68, 102, 104, 124, 142, 156
New Brunswick (gov't.)
Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, 48
New England, 42, 156, 226
New France, 21, 28, 32
New Jersey, 30
New Light Revival, 156
New York City, 16, 25
New York State, 56, 202
Newfoundland, 16, 21, 40, 62, 68, 89, 106, 110, 130, 134, 138, 154, 198, 226
Newfoundland (gov't.)
Commander-in-Chief of the Newfoundland Squadron, 138
Governor, 138
Newfoundland, Provincial Archives of, 138
Newport, Rhode Island, 156
Newspapers, 172, 174
Newton, Isaac, 194
Niagara, 142, 214
Niagara Peninsula, 218, 224
Niagara River, 222
Nootka, 4, 206
Nootka Sound (Vancouver Island), 4, 8
Nootka Sound Convention of 1790, 8
North, The, 197
North West Company, 12, 14, 116, 122, 212
Northwest Coast, 2
Northwest Passage, 4, 6, 10
Notre Dame Bay, Nfld., 198
Nova Scotia, 16, 42, 54, 102, 114, 132, 140, 156, 174
Nova Scotia (gov't.)
Governor, 102, 198
Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, 48
Novels, 168

O

O'Hara, Hy., 141
Ontario (Upper Canada), 18, 48, 60, 68, 70, 84, 90, 92, 128, 142, 176, 211
Ontario (gov't.)
Commissary of Indian Affairs, 114
Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General, 222, 223
Deputy Superintendant General of the Indian Department, 214
Lieutenant-Governor, 90
Surveyor General of Upper Canada, 90
Ontario, Lake, 220
Orkneymen, 118
Oswego Falls, N.Y., 220
Ottawa, 212
Ottawa River, 126

P

Pacific Coast, 12, 16, 206
Pacific Ocean, 8, 12, 14, 62
Pacific Slope, 120
Painting, 176
Palliser, Governor, 198
Papineau, Joseph, 176, 177
Papineau, Louis-Joseph, 176
Parkyns, George Isham (1750–1820), 80, 81, 148, 149
Parti canadien, (Quebec), 98, 100
Passamaquoddy Bay, N.B., 42
"Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ According to St. Matthew for Palm Sunday," 162
Peace of Paris of 1763, 21
Peace of Paris of 1783, 62
Peace River, 12
Peachey, James (fl. 1773–1797), 36, 37, 50, 68, 69, 180, 181
Pennsylvania, 56, 174
Pérez, Juan José (circa 1725–1775), 2, 8
Philipeaux Island, 62
Pictou, N.S., 72
Pinchbeck, Christopher, 24
Placentia Bay, 40
Plains of Abraham, 52
Plessis, Joseph-Octave, (1763–1825), 159, 160, 161, 172, 217
Poetry, 170, 172
Pond, Peter, 12, 116
Pontchartrain Island, 62
Portraiture, 176
Postal Service, 86
Prairies, 114
Prendergast, Catharine, 224, 225

Prince Edward Island, 16, 42, 72, 89, 102, 106, 108, 156
Privateers, 226
Probus [John Young?], 97
Proclamation of 1763, 32
Puke, 15
Purdy, John, 103

Q
Quakers, 70
Quebec, 18, 27, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 45, 46, 48, 60, 62, 66, 68, 70, 89, 90, 92, 94, 96, 98, 113, 114, 130, 142, 144, 176, 211.
See also French Canada
Quebec (gov't.)
Assembly, 94, 96, 98
Governor, 48, 74, 178
Legislative Council, 60
Parliamentary Government, 30
Surveyor-General's Office, 76
Quebec Act, The, 38
Quebec Benevolent Society, 188
Québec City, 21, 22, 25, 32, 46, 50, 52, 82, 84, 86, 96, 98, 126, 130, 146, 150, 168, 188
Anglican Cathedral, 170
Fort Saint-Louis, 22
Recollet Church, 34
Recollet Church and Convent, 22
Roman Catholic Cathedral, 22, 162
Rue Sainte-Anne, 22
Rue Saint-Jean, 146
Quebec Gazette, 178, 188
Quebec Mercury, 146
"Quebec Summer," 170
"Quebec Winter," 170
Queen Charlotte Islands, 2, 10
Queen's University, Kingston
Douglas Archives, 138
Queenston, 146
Queenston Heights, 214
Quesnel, Joseph, (1746–1809), 172, 173
Quinte, Bay of, Lake Ontario, 56, 68

R
Read, Catherine (1723–1778), 168, 169
Reasons for Colonizing the Island of Newfoundland (1813), 110
Red River, 122
Red River Colony (Manitoba), 72, 122
Resolution Cove, Nootka Sound, Vancouver Island, 4
Richelieu River, 50
Roads, 78, 90, 170
Robe, William, 170, 171
Roberts, B., 115
Roberts, Captain Charles, 212, 213
Robin, 140
Robinson, G., 11
Rocky Mountains, 12
Roman Catholic Church, 34, 46, 158, 160, 192
Roman Catholicism, 32, 38, 154, 200
Royal Gazette, 148
Russell, Peter, 84

S
Sable Island, N.S., 132
Saint John, N.B., 104
Saint John Harbour, N.B., 16
Saint John River, N.B., 16, 132. 142
Saint John River Valley, N.B., 42, 58, 104
St. Andrews, N.B., 124
St. Croix River Valley, N.B., 104
St. John, Island of. *See* Prince Edward Island
St. John's, Nfld., 40, 140, 154
St. Joseph's Island, 212
St. Lawrence, Gulf of, 16, 140
St. Lawrence River, 18, 32, 68, 92, 140, 218
St. Lawrence Valley, 18, 92
Ste. Foy, Que., 162
Salaberry, Lt. Col. Charles de (1778–1829), 218
San Blas, Mexico, 8
Sandwich Islands. *See* Hawaii
Saskatchewan River, 12, 30, 114
Schools, 154
Science, 178
Scotland, 118
Scots, 42, 72
Scott, Thomas, 129
"Sea of the West," 10
Sea otter, 8,
Seigneurs 28, 46, 94
Selkirk, Earl of. *See* Douglas, Thomas
Severn House Journal, 205
Sewell, Jonathan Sr., 48, 49
Papers, 48, 49
Shelburne, N.S., 58
Ships, 130, 132
Argonaut, 8
Discovery, 6
Hero, 134
Inflexible, 50
Liverpool Packet, 226
Mexicana, 2
Prince Regent, 220
Princesa, 8
Princess Charlotte, 220
Princess Royal, 8
Resolution, 6
Royal George, 50
Sutil, 2
Ships' masts, 128
Short, Richard (fl. 1754–1766), 22, 23, 34, 35, 36
Sigogne, Jean Mande (1763–1844), 200
Simcoe, John Graves (1752–1806), 90
Singleton, George, 57
Sioux, 212
Smith, David William (1764–1837), 90, 91
Smith, William, 82
Sorel, Que., 144
South Buck, 126
Spain, 8
Spanish, 2, 4, 10
Sports, 180
"Stoney Mountains." *See* Rocky Mountains
Strait of Georgia, B.C., 2
Stretton, Sempronius (1781–1842), 146, 147
Superior, Lake, 12

T
Tankalkel, 25
Taverns, 192
The Atlantic Neptune (1775–1781), 16, 31

The History of Emily Montague (1769), 168
The Life and Journal of the Rev. Mr. Henry Alline (1806), 156, 157, 170
The Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser, 174
Théâtre de Société, 172
Thirteen Colonies, 45, 48
Thompson, David, 12, 14
Thompson and Hall, 103
Ticonderoga, 50
Timber, 130
Tonge, William Cottnam (1764-circa 1825), 102
Toronto (York), 78, 84, 90, 146, 218
  Front Street, 84
  King Street, 84
Townships, 76
Travel literature, 30
Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories (1809), 30, 170
Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792 (1793), 142
Travels through the Canadas (1807), 182
Treaty of Ghent, 228
Triton Island, 198
Tunkers, 70
Turnor, Philip, 12

U
United Empire Loyalist. *See* Loyalists
United States, 70, 80, 134, 211, 212, 216
Upper Canada. *See* Ontario
Upper Canada Preserved Medal, 228
Upper Mississippi, 212

V
Valcour Island (Lake Champlain), Battle of, 50
Vancouver, Captain George (1757–1798), 10, 11
Vauxhall Gardens, London, 24
Vermont, 70, 164
Veuve Noubel et Fils, la, 29
Vice Admiralty Court, Halifax, 226
Vondenvelden, William, 92, 93
Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean... (1798), 10
Voyageurs, 116, 212

W
Wales, William, 10
Walrus, 6
Walsh, Edward, 84
War of 1812, 110, 136, 167, 216, 220, 224, 228
Warner, 11
Watson, S.Z., 145
Webber, John (1751–1793), 4, 5, 7, 206, 207
Welland Canal, 224
Wentworth, John (1737–1820), 102
West, The, 32
West Indies, 113, 132, 134, 136, 138
Western Canada, 16
Wheat, 144
Whittle and Laurie, 103
Williams, George, 219
Windsor, Ont., 212
Winnebago, 212
Women, 168, 224
Wood, 144
Woodward and Alderson, 109
Worgan, John, 24, 26
Worship, 38
Wright, John, 178, 179
Wright, Philemon (1761–1839), 126, 127
  Papers, 127

Y
Yonge Street, 78, 90
York. *See* Toronto
York Factory, 12, 122
Yorkshiremen, 42
Young, John. *See* Probus